

Africans in Britain: 1500-1640
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D.Phil. in History
Trinity 2011

Africans in Britain, 1500-1640: Short Abstract

This study of Africans in Britain 1500-1640 employs evidence from a wide range of primary sources including parish registers, tax returns, household accounts, wills and court records to challenge the dominant account, which has been overly influenced by the language of Shakespeare's *Othello* and other contemporary literature. I explain the international context of growing trade and increased diplomatic relations with Africa and a concomitant increased level of contact with Africans in the Atlantic world. I then explore the ways in which Africans might come to Britain. Some travelled via Europe in the entourages of royals, gentlemen or foreign merchants; some came from Africa to train as trade factors and interpreters for English merchants; large numbers arrived as a result of privateering activity in which they were captured from Spanish and Portuguese ships. Once in Britain, they were to be found in every kind of household from those of kings to seamstresses. Some were entirely independent, some poor, though few resorted to crime. They performed a wide range of skilled roles and were remunerated in the same mix of wage, reward and gifts in kind as others. They were accepted into society, into which they were baptized, married and buried. They inter-married with the local population and had children. Africans accused of fornication and men who fathered illegitimate children with African women were punished in the same way as others. The legacy of villeinage coupled with the strong rhetoric of freedom in legal and popular discourse ensured that Africans in Britain were not viewed as slaves in the eyes of the law. Neither were they treated as such. They were paid wages, married, and allowed to testify in court. Those scholars who have sought to place the origins of racial slavery in Elizabethan and early Stuart England must now look elsewhere.

Africans in Britain, 1500-1640: Long Abstract

This thesis investigates the presence of Africans in Britain between 1500 and 1640. This is a subject that has recently become popular but has never been examined in a rigorous and scholarly fashion nor, vitally, in the proper historical context. I have returned to the archives to investigate the lives of the people of African origin who came to England and Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Establishing their presence was the starting point. I then looked to the wider world to understand both why and how they came here. Once in Britain, I asked, what did they do, and how were they treated? A key question in the light of previous scholarship and present preoccupations was whether they were slaves?

My research has yielded evidence of over 350 individual Africans living in Britain in these 150 years between the dawn of the sixteenth century and the advent of the British Civil Wars. They have emerged from a wide range of archival sources, including parish registers, tax returns, household accounts, letters, diaries, wills, State Papers and court records. It is not always easy to identify people of African origin in these sources, as many different terms were used to describe them. In any case, when in doubt it is vital to read the original document and not to be misled by surnames such as 'Blackemore' or the word 'black' used to describe someone who may just have had dark hair. In fact the most popular term used to describe Africans was 'blackamoor' and its variants. I provide here a review of the different terms used in the sources I have consulted.

In Chapter 1 I outline the international context of the period. In order to understand the experiences of Africans in Britain, we must first look to the interaction of English and Scottish men with Africa and Africans abroad. I outline the growth of trade and diplomatic relations with Africa and then consider encounters with Africans both in Africa and in the wider Atlantic world. I then discuss the impact of the emergence of the English colonies in the seventeenth century.

In Chapter 2 I explain how Africans came to Britain. Africans arrived in a variety of ways, but not primarily as a result of English slave trading, which was not prevalent during the period in question and would more normally result in Africans arriving in the colonies. In the first half of the sixteenth century, the Africans who arrived in Britain seem to have come in the households of foreign royalty or merchants. When Englishmen began trading with Africa, a small number of Africans were brought to England to be trained as trade factors and interpreters, and as such then returned home. The voyages of Hawkins and Drake to Africa, the Spanish Caribbean and beyond resulted in further Africans coming to England. The largest numbers of Africans seem to have arrived as a result of privateering voyages, especially in the years of war with Spain. When a Spanish or Portuguese ship was captured, Africans found aboard were returned to England with the prize. This practice declined in the seventeenth century, however, as Africans taken from foreign ships by privateers could be taken to the colonies where they were in high demand as labourers.

In Chapter 3 I look at the working lives of Africans in Britain, which were far more varied than previously thought. Just as many can be shown to have been working in merchants' or lowlier households as in the houses of gentlemen and kings. Many were in fact not recorded as having a master at all. Some were earning an independent living as skilled craftsmen in London. Some slid into poverty, but found support from the charity of the parish, or in one case, the East India Company. Very few resorted to crime. Those in service performed a wide range of roles, and were far from exotic playthings. Africans can be found working as cooks, laundresses, stable hands, musicians, sailors, divers, and in taverns. However there were far fewer prostitutes than the literary sources of the time might suggest. Africans were paid wages, and were also remunerated in kind or with occasional rewards, as was normal practice at the time. The bulk of evidence from household accounts relates to the purchase of clothing. Indeed the kind of clothing that Africans wore further demonstrates that their roles in the household were more practical than decorative.

In Chapter 4 I look at the religious lives of Africans and how they interacted with English society. Many Africans were baptized and buried and some married in the Church of England. Evidence from ecclesiastical sources demonstrates a level of acceptance and integration. Africans were seen as suitable converts to Christianity. Great pains were taken to ensure that they were properly instructed in the faith and that they genuinely desired to be baptized. There are records of Africans marrying English people and other Africans, which indicate a further level of integration and internalizing of the Christian religion. The ceremony with which Africans were buried was no different to that adopted for the rest of the population. When Africans transgressed the boundaries of behaviour expected in this Christian society, they were also punished just like any other offenders. They were accused of fornication in the church courts, and their illegitimate children were marked as bastards in the parish registers. These extra-marital relationships were also inter-racial, occurring between both African men and women and English men and women. The evidence of English men being punished for fathering illegitimate children with African women shows that there was no immunity for such crimes, and so African women were no more vulnerable to sexual exploitation than other women. Thus, Africans were integrated into early modern society. Beyond the Church of England there were of course some cases where Africans might be exposed to the Catholic or Jewish faiths of their masters or retain the Islamic or other beliefs they had grown up with in Africa. However in the religious climate of the time, these practices were not admitted to in public and so there is little evidence of them.

Finally, in Chapter 5, it becomes clear that these Africans were not slaves, either in theory or in practice. England had a reputation abroad as a place where all were free, and its own writers confirmed it was a place where the air was too pure for slaves to breathe. Setting foot on English soil, one immediately became free. Such was the judgment in the only case to discuss slave status in the period: that of Cartwright in 1569. In fact the only kind of slavery recognized by English law was villeinage, and since that was an inherited status tied to the ancient feudal system, it could not apply to newly arrived Africans. In practice, Africans were not treated as slaves. They were not called slaves. The only instances of attempted sales involved Italian or Portuguese masters who were perhaps unaware of the laws of England. Africans were allowed to marry and to testify in court. They were paid wages. They were left legacies in wills. They were baptized. They were not chained or whipped: indeed in one case we hear

of an African man whipping an English fellow servant at the behest of his master. Thus we cannot assume that an African in Britain was a slave; in fact we should assume the opposite.

This previously undiscovered history of the experience of Africans in Britain in the century before the English became fully involved in the world of colonies and slave trading provokes larger questions. The encounter between white and black was not as sudden as has been previously thought. And if this encounter, which took place on English and Scottish, rather than just on African soil, did not immediately lead to racism and subjugation, then what was it about the circumstances in the colonies that caused that terrible outcome? For the situation was certainly not simply imported from England. Equally, those scholars analyzing the literature of the time should bear in mind that playwrights and poets wrote primarily to entertain and not to provide accurate social histories. The more prosaic evidence of parish registers and court records reveal a world perhaps less dramatic than the racist hell some critics have assumed, but one more human, more complex, and thus all the more fascinating.

Acknowledgments

I am beholden to a great many people who have given freely of their time and energy to support me in what has been a long and difficult task. From the beginning I encountered fellow historians who went out of their way to help me, be it by showing me round an unfamiliar archive, sending me references to Africans or even buying me lunch! I would like to thank Marika Sherwood, Gustav Ungerer, Kathy Chater, Kelechie Ezie and Duncan Salkeld for their generosity in sharing their research with me and Martin Ingram, Stuart Minson, Annette Walton and Helen Good for drawing my attention to interesting material. Simon Healy was an excellent guide to the vagaries of the archives at Kew when I first visited. Lively, informative and inspiring discussions have been had with Onyeka, Imtiaz Habib, James Walvin, Madge Dresser, Kate Lowe, Todd Gray, Jan Marsh and John Cairns amongst others. James Sweet, Susan Amussen, Michael Guasco and David Eltis have all responded swiftly and informatively to my queries. The Black and Asian Studies Association provided both a useful forum for debate and introduced me to others in the field. In Oxford, Judith and David Loades, Susan Doran, Steven Gunn and Ian Archer all provided enthusiasm and encouragement over the years. I am deeply grateful to Hubert Stadler for his eleventh hour wizardry. I would also like to thank the staff of the many record offices I visited or contacted in search of Africans for their forbearance and helpful attitude. Robert Noel, Lancaster Herald, of the College of Arms and Claire Titley of the London Metropolitan Archives stand out in my memory as going beyond the call of duty. If Nicholas Davidson and Clive Holmes had known what they would be taking on when we first met seven years ago, I am not at all sure whether they would have agreed to supervise me! I am grateful beyond words that they stuck it out. However, it is the love and support of my family and friends that must not go unacknowledged. They never lost faith in me. Some of them even read my work. Thanks to Martin Sheppard for reading an earlier version of Chapter 1 with an editor's eye, and to Ann Berry for reading through my entire thesis on a flight to New York and then telling me it was great. Thanks also to John Morgenstern, Megan Dennis, Zahler Bryan and Alice Taylor for making Oxford graduate life bearable, to lifelong friends Emily Hacker, Issy Millard, Emily Boldy and Ciorsdan Glass and to those at Aylsham, Escot, Ellerslie and Hotwell Road for your hospitality on my archival travels. Julia Hill has been a patient and encouraging voice. Olivier Dechazal has lived with the thesis now for three years and is still here. Aunt Lorraine has been a blessing, not just because she lives in Kew! My sisters, Augusta and Olivia may now have to allow me to join them in what they believe to be the real world! Ultimately, I would like to say that I hope this piece of work goes some way towards repaying the huge debt I owe to my wonderful parents, without whom nothing would have been possible.

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Attached in separate volume:

Map

Illustrations

Appendix

Abbreviations

ALHTS: The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, ed. T. Dickson, J. Balfour Paul, C.T.McInnes and A. L.Murray, (13 vols., Edinburgh, 1877-1978).

APC: Acts of the Privy Council of England, ed. J.R. Dasent, (46 vols., 1890-1964).

Black Africans in Renaissance Europe: Black Africans in Renaissance Europe, ed. K.J.P Lowe and T.F. Earle (Cambridge, 2005).

CSPC: Calendar of State Papers, Colonial series ed. W.N. Sainsbury (10 vols, 1860).

CSPD: Calendar of State Papers, Domestic series, of the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth and James I, 1547-1625, ed. R. Lemon, M.A.E. Green (12 vols., 1856-72).

- *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic series, of the reign of James I*, ed. M.A.E. Green (5 vols., 1857-1872).
- *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic series, of the reign of Charles I*, ed. J. Bruce (23 vols., 1858-1897).

CSPS: Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English Affairs preserved in or originally belonging to the Archives of Simancas, ed. M.A.S Hume (4 vols., 1892-9).

Habib, *Black Lives: I. Habib, Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500-1677: Imprints of the Invisible* (2008).

Habib Index: I. Habib, 'Chronological Index of Records of Black People, 1500-1677' in his *Black Lives*, pp.273-368.

Hakluyt: R. Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (12 vols., Glasgow, 1903-5).

L&P, Henry VIII: Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, ed. J.S. Brewer, R.H. Brodie and J.Gairdner (21 vols., 1810-1920).

Leo Africanus: Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, trans. John Pory, 1600, ed. R. Brown (3 vols., Hakluyt Soc., 1st series, XCII-XCIV, 1896).

ODNB: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Online edition [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/>, accessed 27 September 2011]

OED: Oxford English Dictionary, Online edition [<http://www.oed.com/>, accessed 15 August 2011]

Returns of Aliens: Returns of Aliens dwelling in the city and suburbs of London: from the reign of Henry VIII to James I, ed. R.E.G Kirk and E.F.Kirk (Huguenot Society, X, Aberdeen, 1900-1908).

All works cited were published in London, unless otherwise stated.

Introduction

In 1584, the author of the tract that was to become known as *Leicester's Commonwealth* made a passing reference to 'the Black moors... that dwel in Guinea (wherof I supposed you have heard and seen also some in this land)'.¹ This brief allusion suggests an aspect of the Tudor experience that has hitherto been largely overlooked by scholars: the presence of a black population sizeable enough that the average gentleman was likely to have encountered them 'in this land'. Until quite recently, it was still asserted that there were no Africans in England at this time. G. K Hunter argued in 1967 that Elizabethans 'had little or no continuous contact with "Moors"'.² As late as 1999, Paul Hair asserted that 'Black Africans were hardly at all known in England itself, Anglo-African contacts being almost exclusively within Guinea'.³ However, a decade later, the learning programme for pupils in Year 7 at St John Plessington Catholic College in the Wirral included the objective:

To understand the reasons for Elizabeth I's policy of expulsion of (Muslim) 'Blackamoors' and (African) 'Negroes' in 1601.⁴

This alone testifies to the speed with which the subject has emerged.

As James Walvin argued in a paper given in 1981, the subject of 'black history' was given credence by the convergence of three major historiographical trends. The first is the emergence of social history from the 1960s onwards, in the wake of E.P. Thompson's

¹ *The copie of a leter, vvryten by a Master of Arte of Cambrige, to his friend in London* (1584), p. 13.

² G.K. Hunter, 'Othello and Colour Prejudice', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 53 (1967), p. 140.

³ P.E.H. Hair, 'Attitudes to Africans in English Primary Sources on Guinea up to 1650' *History in Africa*, 26 (1999), p.47.

⁴ St John Plessington Learning Programme 2008/9: [http://www.stjohnplessington.com/_files/Learning%20Programmes%202008-2009/History/LP2/year_7_history_lp_2.doc, accessed 9 January 2008] The gloss of 'Muslim' for Blackamoors is inaccurate. See discussion below, Methodology, pp. 60-64.

The Making of the English Working Class (1963), which turned the attention away from high politics towards the lives of ordinary people. Concomitantly, both the growth of African studies in the wake of the African Independence and of African American studies following the Civil Rights Movements led historians to seek out the 'black' experience.⁵ This trend can be seen in scholarship across Europe, with studies of the black populations of not just Spain, Portugal and Italy but also France and as far north as Norway and Russia being produced.⁶

The editors of the recent *Oxford Companion to Black British History* have further identified as a catalyst the 'pioneering efforts of educationalists and activists...who had pushed for the incorporation of black history into the school curriculum'.⁷ In 1992, Gundara and Duffield commented that:

The history element of the new national Curriculum for schools appears designed to perpetuate the marginalisation of the history of Black people in Britain. It is crucial that the history of Blacks in Britain becomes an integral part of a British History curriculum... We need a national, not a merely *nationalistic* curriculum; national in the sense that it will embrace all Britain's peoples, past and present.⁸

Yet in December 2005 when the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority issued its

⁵ J. Walvin, 'From the Fringes: The Emergence of British Black Historical Studies', in, *Essays on the History of Blacks in Britain: from Roman times to the Mid-Twentieth Century* (Aldershot 1992), ed. I. Duffield and J. Gundara, pp. 229-232.

⁶ S. Peabody, *There are no Slaves in France: The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Regime* (New York and Oxford, 1996), pp. 12, 29; A. Blakely, *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society* (1994); D. Hondius, 'Black Africans in Seventeenth Century Amsterdam', in K.J.P.Lowe (ed.) *Sub-Saharan Africa and Renaissance and Reformation Europe: New Findings and New Perspectives*, special issue of: *Renaissance and Reformation*, 31, no.2 (Toronto, Spring 2008), pp. 89-108; A. Blakely, *Russia and the Negro: Blacks in Russian History and Thought* (Washington D.C., 1986); *Africa in Russia: Russia in Africa: Three Centuries of Encounters*, ed. M. Matusevich (2007); Y. Cisse, 'Reconstructing The Black Presence in Norway: 1600-1800 Challenges and Findings', Speech delivered at the Norwegian Historical Society Oslo, February 16, 2008 [http://www.lokalhistorie.no/seminarer/mangfold2008/cisse_black_presence.pdf, accessed 9 January 2009]

⁷ *The Oxford Companion to Black British History*, ed. D.Dabydeen, J. Gilmore and C. Jones (Oxford, 2005), vii.

⁸ *Essays on the History of Blacks in Britain*, ed. Duffield and Gundara, p. 3.

2004/5 Annual Report on the teaching of History in secondary schools, it could still complain that:

Too little attention is given to the black and multi-ethnic aspects of British history. The teaching of black history is often confined to topics about slavery and post-war immigration or to Black History Month. The effect, if inadvertent, is to undervalue the overall contribution of black and minority ethnic people to Britain's past and to ignore their cultural, scientific and many other achievements.⁹

The schedule for year 7 at St. John Plessington is a clear reflection that the new agenda has begun to be taken onboard. Another indication of this is the website *www.blackhistory4schools.com*, launched in March 2006 by Dan Lyndon, head of history at Henry Compton School in Fulham, London.¹⁰ The site contains teaching resources to facilitate the incorporation of 'black history', including articles, links and teaching plans. In a 2006 article, Lyndon made the case that a 'series of short bursts of relevant black history' should be "dripped" into the curriculum at the appropriate moment'. This would 'not force history teachers to artificially create opportunities to add in black history nor restrict black history only to the month of October.' He shows how this has been applied at his school, where lessons now 'include information about John Blanke, the Tudor trumpeter, when teaching about the court of Henry VIII' and 'the attempts by Elizabeth I to repatriate the Blackmoores in the 1590s as part of a unit on poverty in Tudor times'.¹¹

However, despite the fact that elements of the history of Africans in Tudor England are

⁹ History 2004/5 Annual Report on Curriculum and Assessment, QCA/05/2169 (October 2005), p.6. [http://image.guardian.co.uk/sys-files/Education/documents/2005/12/22/Historyqca.pdf, accessed 15 September 2011]

¹⁰ [http://www.blackhistory4schools.com, accessed 9 January 2009] Since March 2006, the site has attracted over 120,000 visitors.

¹¹ D. Lyndon, 'Integrating Black British History into the National Curriculum', *Teaching History*, 122 (March 2006), pp. 37-44.

being taught in British schools, very little primary research has been done on the subject. There is a danger that without a solid grounding in scholarly research, the limited information available will be used to address present-centred concerns, and thus the distinction between 16th and 21st century issues will be entirely lost. Thus, one of the lesson plans on the *www.blackhistory4schools.com* website places quotations from a 16th century document alongside modern newspaper headlines on the fraught subject of immigration.¹²

There are various reasons why the history of blacks in Britain has still not been properly examined. Until very recently most of the books that touched on the early history of Africans in Britain focussed on a later period, and only mentioned the 16th and 17th centuries briefly before moving on to the more easily accessible and familiar evidence for the 18th century. Kenneth Little was the first to treat the black population of Britain as a topic worthy of study in his *Negroes in Britain* (1948). Though the bulk of this work was a development of his social anthropological research on the contemporary black population of Cardiff, he also sought to place his research in historical context, including a section entitled: 'Negroes in Britain -1600AD to the Present Day'. However, although he notes 1555, when the merchant John Lok brought five Africans to England as his starting point, he provides very little information on the black population before the 18th century. He concludes:

English participation in the slave trade did not become significant until c.1660, and it is doubtful therefore, if the 'black man'...was a familiar figure until well on in that century, except as a rather chance visitor, or imported from Portuguese

¹² 'Quotes from Elizabethan and contemporary times about race and asylum'
[<http://www.blackhistory4schools.com/tudors/>, accessed 24 June 2011]

colonial territories.¹³

Here is perhaps the first articulation of the idea that Africans arrived in Britain primarily as a result of English involvement in slave trading. This is a question that I have explored in my research into early English slave trading, and I will discuss further in Chapter 2.¹⁴

Some of the earliest enquiries into the evidence for Africans living in Britain were made by Shakespearean scholars interested in discovering whether that playwright would have written his black characters from life. As early as 1933, G.B. Harrison brought together some evidence to back up his suggestion that the dark lady of the sonnets was in fact an African woman.¹⁵ In 1961, W.E. Miller published some extracts from a Tudor subsidy return showing four Africans living in London in 1599 in order to show that some five years before the first performance of *Othello*, Shakespeare would have had the opportunity to encounter Africans.¹⁶

While Little, whose focus was on a later period, was able to conclude that the black man was not a 'familiar figure' until the later 17th century, in 1965 Eldred Jones, Professor of English at Fourah Bay College, the University College of Sierra Leone, Freetown, published a book, *Othello's Countrymen*, in which he showed that African men and women became familiar figures on the English stage from the 1580s onwards. He also

¹³ K.L. Little, *Negroes in Britain; a study of racial relations in English society* (1948), p. 166.

¹⁴ M. Kaufmann, 'English involvement in slave trading 1530-1663', (forthcoming); Chapter 1, pp. 83-5; Chapter 2, pp. 121, 159.

¹⁵ G.B. Harrison, *Shakespeare at Work* (1933), p. 310. This line has been vigorously pursued: See S. Schoenbaum, 'Shakespeare's Dark Lady: A Question of Identity' in *Shakespeare's Styles: Essays in honour of Kenneth Muir*, ed. P. Edwards and G.K. Hunter (1980), pp. 221-40 and my discussion of black prostitutes Chapter 3, pp. 184-189.

¹⁶ W.E. Miller, 'Negroes in Elizabethan London', *Notes and Queries*, 8, no. 4 (1961), p. 138.

argued that the playwrights were not writing in a vacuum, but rather:

Elizabethans' knowledge of the continent and peoples of Africa has been underestimated by modern critics...Elizabethans also had plenty of opportunity to see Moors and Negroes in England.¹⁷

Modern critics were in fact only just beginning to acknowledge that *Othello* was intended by Shakespeare to be a black African. Although Richard Burbage had originally played the part in blackface in 1604, by 1774, William Kendrick was claiming in a lecture that *Othello* 'was not a black, and at worst only of a tawny colour', because 'a young lady of Desdemona's delicacy of sentiment could never have fallen in love with a Negro.' This became the standard 19th-century approach to the play, as Edmund Kean played *Othello* in tawny, not blackface makeup, and Charles Lamb explained that those of a tawny complexion were 'by many shades less unworthy of a white woman.'¹⁸ This attitude was finally sidelined in 1967, when G.K Hunter pronounced:

Shakespeare intended his hero to be a black man...I ignore the many treatises devoted to proving that he was of tawny or sunburnt colour. These are, however, very worthy of study, as documents of prejudice.

However, as we saw above, Hunter did not believe that Shakespeare would have encountered black men on the streets of London.¹⁹ Crucially, Jones had supported his assertion with a key piece of evidence, when he remarked that:

Indeed there were so many Negroes in England by 1601 that Queen Elizabeth issued an order for their transportation out of the realm.

He included amongst his illustrations a photograph which he labelled 'Queen Elizabeth's edict for the transportation of "Negars and Blakamoore" 1601.' However, he does not

¹⁷ E.D. Jones, *Othello's Countrymen* (1965), viii.

¹⁸ *Othello: Authoritative Text, Sources and Contexts, Criticism*, ed. E. Pechter, Norton Critical Edition (2004), p.173; R. Cowhig, 'Blacks in English Renaissance Drama', in D. Dabydeen (ed.), *The Black presence in English Literature* (Manchester 1985), p.5.

¹⁹ Hunter, 'Othello and Colour Prejudice', pp.139-140.

analyse this document much further, only using it to back up his argument that ‘Statements that Shakespeare and his fellow dramatists did not know what Moors or Negroes looked like merely ignore the available evidence’.²⁰

More evidence of the early presence was beginning to be cited by the 1970s. Edward Scobie published *Black Britannia* in 1972. He spent a few pages discussing the early modern period, but relied mostly on literary evidence, seemingly cribbed from G.B Harrison. He claimed that the literary character Lucy Negro was ‘in fact black and an African’.²¹ He also cited some evidence of Africans at the Scottish court, the five Africans brought over by John Lok in 1555, and the 1596 Privy Council letter.²² Walvin’s *Black and White: the Negro and English society 1555-1945* appeared the following year, a sequel to the collection of documents he had published two years earlier, entitled *The black presence: a documentary history of the Negro in England, 1555-1860*.²³ His books contained a few more references, mostly to secondary sources. He made the broad conclusion that in the Elizabethan period:

it was Elizabeth’s encouragement of the trade with Africa, from which she stood to gain financially, that brought about black immigration. Black servants were in the employ of royal favourites at Court and of others less well-placed. Not all Africans were enslaved domestics. Some had gained their freedom and actively participated in their local churches. Some were sufficiently independent to pay their own taxes while a small minority even possessed property.²⁴

This description was the result of extrapolation from single pieces of evidence, the last of

²⁰ Jones, *Othello’s Countrymen*, Preface, viii, pp.12-13 and Plate 5. Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 18.

²¹ She was in fact merely a character in a play. See D.Bland ed., *Gesta Grayorum, or the history of the high and mightie Henry, Prince of Purpool, Anno Domini 1594* (Liverpool, 1968), p. 17 and Chapter 3, pp. 184-6.

²² E. Scobie, *Black Britannia: a History of Blacks in Britain* (Chicago, 1972), pp. 5-8. Scobie does not footnote his material, and presents it in a haphazard order.

²³ J. Walvin, *Black and White: the Negro and English society 1555-1945* (1973); J. Walvin, *The black presence: a documentary history of the Negro in England, 1555-1860* (1971).

²⁴ Walvin, *The black presence*, p. 13.

which was in fact erroneous, and the others misleading.²⁵ The relatively positive description of the 16th century was quickly superseded by the assertion that: ‘by the early 17th century black slavery was common in England’.²⁶

Folarin Shyllon followed with *Black Slaves in Britain* (1974), and *Black people in Britain 1555-1833* (1977). He admitted that the Africans who came to Britain with John Lok in 1555 were ‘not slaves but linguists, who returned to Africa after they had become proficient in the English language.’ But he continued, ‘those Africans who followed them were slaves and they formed the first permanent black settlers in Britain.’ He asserts that these ‘slaves’ were ‘first introduced into England during the reign of Elizabeth I, as a result of the slaving adventures of John Hawkins’.²⁷ Then, on the circumstantial evidence that slaves were purchased in Lisbon in 1510, and arrived in Jamestown in 1619, he argues that ‘it would seem safest to say that between these two dates a number of African slaves were imported into England and were probably disposed of by private arrangement.’²⁸

All of these studies focused on the later period, devoting a chapter at most to the 16th and 17th centuries. However, unlike Little, who had concluded that the few Africans he knew to have been in Britain in that period were chance visitors, Scobie, Walvin and Shyllon portrayed the black presence as continuous from 1555 onwards. Thus, Walvin wrote: The ‘certain blacke slaves’ brought by John Lok in 1555 were only the first of many such

²⁵ See discussion of mistakes in Methodology, pp. 45-7.

²⁶ Walvin, *Black and White*, p. 10.

²⁷ F.O. Shyllon, *Black Slaves in Britain* (1974), pp. 2-3.

²⁸ F.O. Shyllon, *Black People in Britain 1555-1833* (1977), p. 6.

Africans forcibly deposited in England by merchant adventurers'.²⁹ These scholars had not examined the archival records of Africans in Britain in any detail and yet they were confident in their assumption that all Africans present in Britain before the abolition of the Slave Trade must have been slaves.

In 1984, Peter Fryer published *Staying Power: the History of Black People in Britain*. Written in the aftermath of the 1981 Brixton riots, Fryer's book had a point to prove. The black population was resilient, had 'staying power': the first chapter opens with the words: 'There were Africans in Britain before the English came here'.³⁰ This was a fight for recognition. Fryer prefaces his book with a quote from C.L.R. James's *The Black Jacobins* (1938):

The blacks will know as friends only those whites
who are fighting in the ranks beside them.
And whites will be there.³¹

Fryer was not alone. In September 1981 an International Conference on the History of Blacks in Britain was held at the University of London Institute of Education. Again, much of the material discussed at the conference related to later periods, as the editors of the collection of papers admitted:

Chronologically there are still quite apparent gaps in historiographical coverage...the *comparatively* more easily reached periods are the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries.³²

The collection of papers entirely overlooked the Tudor and Early Stuart period, but Paul Edwards's paper on 'Africans in Britain before 1560' provided some interesting new

²⁹ Walvin, *Black and White*, p. 7.

³⁰ P. Fryer, *Staying Power: the history of black people in Britain* (1984), p. 1.

³¹ *Ibid.*, xii.

³² *Essays on the History of Blacks in Britain*, ed. Duffield and Gundara, p. 4. This book was made up mostly of papers given at the conference held 28-30 September 1981.

material, especially more detail on the Africans at the court of James IV of Scotland.³³ Fryer was able to incorporate this material into his book, which listed more examples of blacks in early modern Britain than anyone had before. He lists evidence of a total of 22 Africans present in England and 9 in Scotland up to 1640.³⁴ Fryer's work has become the textbook; however his treatment of the early period is limited to the first 13 pages of a work that spans to some 500.

The small number of individuals proved present in the earlier period by Fryer might lead to the conclusion that they were not significant enough to merit further investigation. However, since Fryer wrote, local archives have begun to provide new evidence. In 1991, the Black and Asian Studies Association (BASA) was founded. One of the founding members, Marika Sherwood, wrote to local archives encouraging them to search out and make available references to Black and Asian people in their collections. Slowly, a growing number of references, particularly in parish registers, to Africans present in Britain in the 16th and 17th centuries began to emerge. Some 84 of these references were published in a 2003 article by Marika Sherwood for *History Today*.³⁵ This figure was added to in a list published in the BASA Newsletter in 2004.³⁶ Other initiatives by local archives also proved fruitful. Thus, the Friends of the Devon Archives found numerous

³³ Later published as P. G. Edwards, *The Early African Presence in the British Isles: an inaugural lecture on the occasion of the establishment of the Chair in English and African Literature at Edinburgh University* (1990), and P.G. Edwards 'The Early African Presence in the British Isles' in *Essays on the History of Blacks in Britain*, ed. Gundara and Duffield, pp. 9-29. See also M.E. Robbins, 'Black Africans at the Court of James IV', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 12 (1999), pp. 34-45.

³⁴ Fryer, *Staying Power*, pp. 2-13. Strangely he omits Peter the More, despite citing *ALHTS*.

³⁵ M. Sherwood, 'Blacks in Tudor England', *History Today*, 53 (October 2003), pp. 40-42.

³⁶ M. Sherwood, 'Blacks in Tudor England', *BASA Newsletter*, (Pt.1), 38, Jan. 2004; (Pt. 2), 39, April 2004; (Pt.3), 40, Sept. 2004.

references, some of which were published by local historian Lucy Mackeith in 2003.³⁷ The Northamptonshire Black History Project, which was funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund, 2002-2005, gathered evidence relating to that county, which included the burial of ‘Thomas Bull, niger’ in 1545.³⁸ The Black and Asian Londoners Project, which ran from 2001 at the London Metropolitan Archives, found over 2,000 references to Black or Asians in the London baptism registers.³⁹ Similar attempts have been made at the Guildhall Library, which held copies of all the parish registers for the City of London.⁴⁰ These efforts have provided a new body of evidence for historians to explore and explain, besides demonstrating a strong popular interest in the subject.

Nevertheless historians have been surprisingly reluctant to engage with this subject.

Fryer’s work has begun to find its way into mainstream history, in the work of authors such as Carole Levin and Alison Sim.⁴¹ But it has been students of literature who have made more effort to pursue it. Following Jones’s initial exploration of the black characters in English Renaissance Drama, the literature of the period has been mined and analysed to reveal what it can tell us about attitudes to the ‘other’ and the origins of racism and slavery.⁴² As a result, literary works have often been approached with

³⁷ L. Mackeith, *Local Black History: a beginning in Devon* (2003).

[http://www.blacknetworkinggroup.co.uk/local_black_history.htm, accessed 15 September 2011]

³⁸ [<http://www.northants-black-history.org.uk/aboutHistory.asp>., accessed 15 September 2011] The project organisers have now founded the Northamptonshire Black History Association; Appendix, Burials, no.1.

³⁹ [http://www.learningzone.cityoflondon.gov.uk/dataonline/lz_baproject.asp, accessed 12 January 2012]

⁴⁰ [<http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm>, accessed 15 September 2011] The City of London parish registers have recently been moved to the London Metropolitan Archives.

⁴¹ C. Levin, *The Reign of Elizabeth* (2002), pp. 104-120; A. Sim, *Masters and Servants in Tudor England* (2006), pp. 35-42.

⁴² The main studies are: N.V. McCullough, *The Negro in English Literature, a critical introduction* (Ilfracombe 1962); E.H. Tokson, *The Popular Image of the Black Man in English Drama, 1550-1688* (Boston, 1982); A.G. Barthelemy, *Black Face, Maligned Race: the Representations of Blacks in English Drama from Shakespeare to Southerne* (1987); J. D’Amico, *The Moor in English Renaissance Drama* (Tampa, 1991); K.F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England*

hindsight and knowledge of the horrors of the transatlantic slave trade, plantation slavery, and their legacy, all of which of course was unknown to the authors of those texts. This approach owes a debt to the highly influential work of Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (1968), a work that still holds sway with modern scholars.⁴³ It is telling that this book, published in the same year as Martin Luther King was shot and that two African American athletes raised their fists in a black power salute at the Olympics, begins its investigation into racist attitudes in 1550, some fifty-seven years before ‘white’ men began to settle in North America. Jordan argued that attitudes that we would now label ‘racist’ were deeply embedded in European culture, and were, in a way, imported into America with those first settlers. From this premise, the enslavement of Africans became an ‘unthinking decision’.⁴⁴ Jordan’s introductory chapter outlined many of the themes that literary explorations of the subject would return to again and again: the negative associations of ‘blackness’ in the English language; the biblical myth of Ham’s curse as an explanation for skin colour and slavery; the stereotypes of Africans as heathens, almost devils, savages, more akin to apes than humans, with an insatiable sexual appetite.⁴⁵ These themes can be seen even in the titles of later works, from *Black Face: Maligned Race to Devil, Gargoyle, Buffoon*.⁴⁶ However, whilst these studies increasingly acknowledge an African presence in Britain, they remain

(1995); A. B. Mangum, *Reflection of Africa in Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama and Poetry* (2002); E.C. Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor* (2008).

⁴³ W.D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (1968). L. Shore, ‘The Enduring Power of Racism: A Reconsideration of Winthrop Jordan’s *White over Black*’, *History and Theory*, 44 (2005), pp. 195-226, gives a very favourable survey of the book’s lasting significance.

⁴⁴ Jordan, *White Over Black*, p. 44.

⁴⁵ Jordan, *White Over Black*, pp. 3-43. For a critique of Jordan’s position on Ham’s curse, see B. Braude, ‘The sons of Noah and the construction of ethnic and geographical identities in the medieval and early modern periods’, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 54, no.1 (1997), pp. 103-42.

⁴⁶ L.A. Johnson, *The Devil, the Gargoyle, and the Buffoon: the Negro as Metaphor in Western Literature* (1971); Barthelemy, *Black Face, Maligned Race*.

focussed on the often unreliable literary evidence. Thus, although Kim Hall, in the negatively-named *Things of Darkness* (1995), brought together some literary and visual evidence relating to Africans in Britain in a novel way, she was ‘more interested in discerning the ways in which the Africanist presence is embedded in language than with proving the nature of the black presence in England’.⁴⁷ This preference seems to have been shared by Virginia Mason Vaughan, whose latest book, *Performing Blackness*, remains focused on dramatic representations of Africans rather than trying to investigate the realities of their lives.⁴⁸ Sujata Iyengar’s analysis in *Shades of Difference* extends to poetry and travel narratives amongst other sources, but again prefers the poetic to the prosaic.⁴⁹ The literary evidence can only take us so far. Literature is by its very nature malleable and it is easy to impose modern-day concerns upon it. Furthermore, in a culture where only the elite were literate, can the values exposed in literary texts be read over to the wider society?

To learn about the experience of Africans in Britain we must look beyond literature to the more mundane evidence in the archives. Eldred Jones had begun to do this when he cited the document that was to feature so dominantly in later treatments of the subject: the 1601 draft letter authorising Caspar Van Senden to transport ‘blackamoors’ out of England.⁵⁰ Taken out of context, this document has been used to confirm the negative impression found in literature. While Jones merely used it to demonstrate a black

⁴⁷ Hall, *Things of Darkness*, p. 14.

⁴⁸ V.M. Vaughan, *Performing Blackness on English Stages, 1500–1800* (New York, 2005); A.T. and V.M. Vaughan, ‘Before Othello: Elizabethan Representations of Sub-Saharan Africans’, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 54:1 (1997), pp. 19–44.

⁴⁹ S. Iyengar, *Shades of Difference: Mythologies of Skin Color in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, 2005).

⁵⁰ See above, pp. 7–8; Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no.18; M. Kaufmann, ‘Caspar Van Senden, Sir Thomas Sherley and the “Blackamoor” project’, *Historical Research*, 81, no.212 (May 2008), pp. 366–371.

presence, later critics would frame it as evidence of racial discrimination. Thus Fryer characterised it as a deportation order, while David Dabydeen was to write in 1985 that ‘for the first time in English history, blacks were used as scapegoats for social evils’.⁵¹

This trend continued as David Northrup wrote in 2002 that:

Elizabeth...in 1596 issued an order to expel all blacks from her kingdom, concealing her evident prejudice under the specious complaint that the modest number of African ‘infidels’ there were consuming food needed by the native English population.⁵²

Ania Loomba cites the 1596 Privy Council records as evidence of Elizabeth wanting ‘the preservation of the white race’.⁵³ In 2005, Kate Lowe likened this ‘proclamation...ordering the expulsion of all black Africans from England’ to the ‘introduction of the concept of “purity of blood” (limpieza de sangre) that took hold on the Iberian peninsula’.⁵⁴ In her 2006 essay on this episode, Emily Bartels is more concerned with a close reading of the language of the documents than placing them in their historical context. The two documents are taken as government policy, without any interrogation of who wrote them and for what purpose.⁵⁵ However, as I showed in an article in *Historical Research* (2008), the 1601 document exists only as a draft sent to Robert Cecil by Thomas Sherley, and there is no evidence that it was ever promulgated.⁵⁶ The Privy Council letter of 1596 that has a similar, though milder, content did appear to have seen the light of day, but was really a ‘dead letter’, as Van Senden himself

⁵¹ D.Dabydeen, *Hogarth's Blacks* (1985), p.17.

⁵² D. Northrup, *Africa's Discovery of Europe, 1450-1850* (Oxford, 2002), p.8.

⁵³ A. Loomba, *Gender, Race, Renaissance Drama* (Delhi, 1989), p.52.

⁵⁴ K.J.P. Lowe, ‘Introduction: The black African presence in Renaissance Europe’ in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, p.9.

⁵⁵ E.C. Bartels, ‘Too Many Blackamoors: Deportation, Discrimination, and Elizabeth I’, *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 46, no. 2, (Spring 2006), pp. 305-322. This material is incorporated as Chapter 4 in her book, *Speaking of the Moor: from Alcazar to Othello* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

⁵⁶ Kaufmann, ‘Caspar Van Senden, Sir Thomas Sherley and the “Blackamoor” project’, pp.366-371; Appendix, Letters and Diaries, no. 18.

complained to Cecil. The entire episode is better characterised as a money-making scheme devised by Sherley and Van Senden, than as a racist government policy.

Some literary critics have delved further into the historical records. Nabil Matar, in his three books published since 1998 dealing with different aspects of the relationship between Britain and North Africa, has made novel use of documents from the Moroccan archives.⁵⁷ However his focus on North Africa has led him to assert that ‘Moor’ had a very narrow meaning of ‘north African’ and that even persons described as ‘blackamoors’ must have been North African. In his *Britain and Barbary 1589-1689*, he discusses the ‘Moor’ made pregnant by Lancelot Gobbo in the *Merchant of Venice*, but completely ignores the fact that she is also described as a ‘Negro’.⁵⁸ Furthermore, he has not taken into account the work of scholars such as D.B. Quinn which show how West Africans could come to Britain.⁵⁹

In 1991 Rosalyn Knutson gave a paper to the International Shakespeare Association World Congress entitled ‘A Caliban in St. Mildred’s Poultry’, which said less about *The Tempest* and more about the baptism of an African prince in St. Mildred Poultry in 1611.⁶⁰ She used the baptism and burial records in an innovative way, putting them in context, particularly by exploring the lives of the figures surrounding the Africans, such

⁵⁷ N.I. Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685* (Cambridge, 1998), *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, 1999), *Britain and Barbary, 1589–1689* (Florida, 2005).

⁵⁸ Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 24.

⁵⁹ D.B. Quinn, ‘Turks, Moors, Blacks and Others in Drake’s West Indian Voyage’, in *Explorers and Colonies: America 1500-1625*, essays by D.B. Quinn (1990), pp. 197-204. For the meaning for ‘Moor’, see *Methodology*, pp. 60-63.

⁶⁰ R.L. Knutson, ‘A Caliban in St. Mildred Poultry’, in T. Kishi, R. Pringle and S.W. Wells ed., *Shakespeare and Cultural Traditions: the Selected Proceedings of the International Shakespeare Association World Congress, Tokyo, 1991* (1994), pp. 110-126.

as the merchant John Davies. She also was the first to use a legal record: the petition of a man she named 'Hector Novimeis' (who was in fact the Portuguese physician, merchant and spy, Hector Nunes) to the Court of Requests in 1587.⁶¹ Her novel approach suggested that further archival material was yet to be discovered which could be brought to bear on this subject, and that it was possible to add some detail to the bare record of the parish register.

Another literary scholar to shed some light into the field was Gustav Ungerer. In 2005, he published an article on the previously unknown case of Jacques Frances, an African diver who testified before the High Court of Admiralty in 1547.⁶² His latest book, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery* (2008) mostly examines the experiences of English merchants resident in Andalusia in the early 16th century, but also incorporates his researches on the Africans in Elizabethan England.⁶³ However, this material was not his main focus, and this becomes obvious when he displays a lack of contextual understanding, for example in his confusing discussion of the English taxation of foreigners.⁶⁴

The most recent literary critic to tackle the subject is Imtiaz Habib. His book, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500-1677* (2008) is the first monograph to devote itself entirely

⁶¹ Appendix, Court Records, no. 10.

⁶² G. Ungerer, 'Recovering a Black African's Voice in an English Lawsuit: Jacques Francis and the Salvage Operations of the Mary Rose and the Sancta Maria and Sanctus Edwardus, 1545-ca 1550', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 17 (Madison, NJ, 2005), pp. 255-271; Appendix, Court Records, nos. 1-2.

⁶³ G. Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery* (Madrid, 2008), pp. 70-95 and 'The presence of Africans in Elizabethan England and the performance of Titus Andronicus at Burley-on-the-Hill, 1595/96', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 21 (Madison, NJ, 2008), pp. 19-55.

⁶⁴ Ungerer, *Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery*, pp. 12, 71, 75. See also my review, *TLS*, 19 March 2010, p. 27 and Methodology, p. 27.

to the subject of Africans in Britain in the 16th and 17th centuries.⁶⁵ It was also the first attempt to harness the raw material of archival evidence. Habib also first came to the subject via Shakespeare, as becomes abundantly clear from the title of his previous book, *Shakespeare and Race* (2000).⁶⁶ Utilizing the data collected by BASA and local archives, he lists 362 records of black people from 1500-1640. However, 114 of these refer either to East Indians and Native Americans, or (the majority) to those he describes as ‘of fluctuating ethnic clarity’: that is to individuals with names such as ‘Ales Moore’, for whom there is no explicit evidence of a foreign identity.⁶⁷ He makes no allowance for the fact that there is sometimes more than one record for each individual: the remaining 248 records yield 177 individuals. He also suggests that these records are symptomatic, and that the total ought to be multiplied by a factor of 10.⁶⁸ His index is a helpful reference tool, and the first of its kind. However, it is riddled with errors of fact and transcription, and his criteria for inclusion are highly questionable. He himself admits his data is ‘inherently correctible’ but has been included:

in order to compensate for the over-conservative, mutually reinforcing, multilayered assumptions of traditional early modern history that have made black people in Tudor and Stuart England absent by default.⁶⁹

Thus, writing on this subject was as polemical in 2008 as it was in the 1970s when Folarin Shyllon wrote that ‘Racism has been the British way of life ever since the first blacks settled in Britain’.⁷⁰ Habib also tends to assume the worst when analysing the

⁶⁵ I. Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500-1677* (2008). See also my review, *TLS*, 8 August 2008, p. 26.

⁶⁶ I. Habib, *Shakespeare and Race: Postcolonial Praxis in the Early Modern Period* (2000).

⁶⁷ Habib Index, no. 225. For discussion of how to identify Africans in the sources, see Methodology, pp. 45-56.

⁶⁸ Habib, *Black Lives*, p.262. Here he follows the analysis in A.L Beier and R. Finlay, *London 1500-1700: the Making of the Metropolis* (1985), p. 48.

⁶⁹ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 17.

⁷⁰ Shyllon, *Black People in Britain*, x.

black experience, even contradicting himself in the process. He asserts at one point: ‘there is not a single record in the Elizabethan period that shows an African in an independent professional capacity’, but less than twenty pages later, cites the case of Reasonabel Blackman, a silkweaver.⁷¹ This is just one example of the dangers of Habib’s chronological analysis, which means that similar cases are not viewed together and patterns are harder to discern.

It is probably fair to say that black people have been largely absent from traditional early modern histories. But then so have the vast majority of the white population. Until the middle of the twentieth century, historians dealt primarily with high politics, religion and war. Unless you were a king, a priest or a soldier, your life was unlikely to be of much interest to scholars. It is also true that the move towards social history has not resulted in the full reintegration of Africans into the narrative. However, I believe this to be primarily because the nature of most primary historical research dictates that historians concentrate on a particular set of source materials. The evidence of Africans in Britain is spread across a wide selection of sources, and it is only when these are considered in conjunction that a bigger picture emerges. Thus, Linda Yungblut’s 1996 study of the *Policies, Perceptions and Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England*, only mentions Africans once, in a footnote where she merely reports ‘two blackmores were reported living in London at the time of this survey’.⁷² Without consulting a wider range of evidence, to Yungblut, these ‘blackmores’ appeared anomalous. Conversely, in the type of statistical social history pursued by the Cambridge School, as evinced in the works of

⁷¹ Habib, *Black Lives*, pp. 78, 97; Appendix, Baptisms, no.8; Burials, nos. 20, 21.

⁷² L. Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Among Us: Policies, Perceptions and Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England* (1996), p. 21, n. 39.

Wrigley and Schofield, the statistically insignificant black population was lost to sight. Thus they comment on immigration that 'many people entered England, for example, from the Celtic fringe or in the wake of persecution of the Huguenots, but their numbers are uncertain in the absence of adequate records'.⁷³ In their study then, the Huguenot and the Irish presence is as under-represented as the African.

What I have done

Peter D. Fraser commented in 2001 that: 'the earlier period and any attempt to analyse the development of the status of Africans in Britain [has been]... neglected' by historians.⁷⁴ He continued:

The evidence for the slave status of Africans in Britain...is not as firm as it would appear...until the records of Africans in Britain in these two centuries are slowly assembled (from parish records, newspapers, private papers and visual evidence) and analysed it would be foolish to come to hasty conclusions.⁷⁵

This kind of evidence is now beginning to come to light, through the efforts of myself and others. But many scholars interested in this topic are based in the United States, and have therefore largely been unable to search the English archives. Alden T. and Virginia Mason Vaughan, when based at the Folger Institute in Washington asked in 2001:

What are we to conclude from a list of burials at one London parish during the first half of 1588 in which three of the twenty-four interments are of "Mary, a blackamore from Doctor Hector's", "Isabell, a blackamore", and "a man blackamore [who] laye in the streete"? These entries suggest that people of African origins or descent, although very much a minority, were not unusual in sixteenth-century London.⁷⁶

⁷³ E.A. Wrigley and R. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871*(1981),p. 223.

⁷⁴ P.D.Fraser, 'Slaves or Free People? The status of Africans in England 1550-1750', in R. Vigne and C. Littleton (ed.), *From Strangers to Citizens: the Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750* (2001), p. 255.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 259.

⁷⁶ A.T. Vaughan and V.M. Vaughan, 'In Search of Slavery's English Roots', *Common-Place*, 1, no. 4 (July 2001) [<http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/cp/vol-01/no-04/tales/>, accessed 16 September 2011]

However, they have not pursued this line of enquiry any further. Rather Mr. Vaughan has looked to the history of the Native American presence in early modern England, while his wife has continued to analyse the literary evidence.⁷⁷

Using just these sorts of records, from parish registers, tax returns, household records and legal records, I have gathered evidence of over 350 Africans living in Britain in the period 1500-1640.⁷⁸ I have sought only to examine the lives of individuals who are clearly described as Africans, for to do otherwise is to place sentiment above strict empirical values. Furthermore, Habib's annotated chronological list of 'sightings' of Africans in the archives can only take us so far. I have drawn together the evidence thematically, in order to answer the key questions of how Africans came to Britain and why, what their experience of working here was like, what their personal and religious experiences were, and how they were viewed in the eyes of the law.

I have used the term 'African' to describe the people under scrutiny. By this, I mean to include individuals from all parts of that continent, who were described variously as 'moors', 'blackamoors', 'negroes', even 'Ethiops' at the time, and their children. I am aware that the term is inadequate, and that for reasons of style I have sometimes used it synonymously with 'black'. However, in framing my inquiry, I have purposefully chosen 'African' over 'black' because the latter has been used as a political term. It has also been

⁷⁷ A.T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776* (Cambridge, 2006); V.M. Vaughan, *Performing Blackness on English Stages*: see above, p. 13.

⁷⁸ It is difficult to arrive at an exact figure, as sources cite groups of 'blackamoors'. The Appendix contains 391 entries in 9 Tables, relating to some 352 individuals, plus the groups of 135 Africans who spent a week in Bristol in 1590 and 50-60 who departed Plymouth with Hawkins in 1568, which makes 537-547. Beyond the Appendix, literary sources including voyage accounts provide us with clear evidence of a further 12 individuals present in England: see pp. 105-7, 117, 134-6, 139-40, 142-3, 147, 164, 205-6, 225-6, 236, 261, 263-4, 280-2.

used by others to describe all non-Europeans, though the arrival in Britain of Asians and Native Americans are separate phenomena that will not be treated here.

The term ‘Britain’ also requires some explanation. Although the bulk of the evidence discussed here is from England, some of it is from Scotland.⁷⁹ I have sought to discuss ‘Britain’ rather than ‘England’ in this study for two reasons. Firstly, I have been influenced by the arguments of R.R. Davies and others that to study England in isolation is to lose the British context, and to see only part of the picture.⁸⁰ Secondly, the evidence for Africans at the court of James IV of Scotland was intriguing; I wanted to incorporate that, and search, where possible, for further examples from north of the border. I have not been able to extend my search to Wales and Ireland.

Previous discussions have made little effort to ground the evidence for Africans in the wider context of British society. Yet this is vital. Examining the lives of Africans in Britain without drawing comparisons with the lives of the men and women around them can lead to a sort of ‘African exceptionalism’, whereby the African experience is treated as different by definition. Thus, an African woman having an illegitimate child is viewed differently to the same event in the life of an Englishwoman; an African servant who is not paid wages must be a slave, whilst an English servant similarly paid in kind, is not.

Ultimately, I hope in this study to examine the evidence for Africans living in England

⁷⁹ I was unable to find evidence of a black presence in Wales or Ireland. 100 of the entries in my Appendix are from Scottish sources, detailing at least 12 individuals, 1501-1608. 97 of these are from Household accounts, 2 from Municipal accounts and 1 from a letter. See Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 1-70, 72-82, 89-97, 99-101, 112-13; Church and Municipal Accounts, nos. 7,8, Diaries and Letters, no. 2.

⁸⁰ R.R. Davies, *The British Isles, 1100-1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections* (1988).

and Scotland in the years 1500 to 1640, as far as possible on their own terms. The subject was largely ignored for many years, and has more recently been scrutinised with an all too obvious agenda. It is of course impossible to consider the early-modern past without thinking of the intervening years which brought with them the unspeakable horrors of the transatlantic slave trade, plantation slavery and racism. However, it is vital to remember that the people we are looking at had not had those experiences. We can only begin to understand them and their world if we try to look at it through their eyes. After all, if a study of Africans in Britain in this crucial period just before the English embarked on the adventure of the American colonies and the slave trade shows that perhaps slavery was not an inevitable result of the encounter with the 'other', and racism not so indelibly rooted in British culture, then there is hope that similar horrors of human experience can be avoided in future.

Methodology

In order to bring together a coherent picture of the lives of Africans in Britain 1500-1640 it has been necessary to scour a wide range of archival material. As we saw in the Introduction, it is partly the scattered nature of the sources that has precluded deeper historical investigation of this subject. Imtiaz Habib has made a great step forward by collecting all the references he was aware of in the Index to his 2008 book *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500-1677*. He admitted that this was ‘not the result of comprehensive and systematic searches of all available documentary databases.’¹ Such a search would be unfeasible for a single scholar, because, as Habib comments, the ‘accidental, discontinuous, and impossibly dispersed nature of the survival of such details ensure for them a state of perpetually incomplete recovery’.² Further, in many cases, there is nothing as sophisticated as a ‘documentary database’ to search. The High Court of Admiralty for example, which has provided some important references for this thesis, has not yet been comprehensively indexed. Most indexes that do exist are searchable only by surname, and are therefore of limited use for scholars looking for information about Africans in Britain who did not always use surnames. To find all the evidence of Africans in Britain in this period, one would literally have to read through all the surviving documents from those 140 years. Nonetheless, I have found a significant amount of new material to add to and even transform scholarship on the subject. I have listed all this new material in the Appendix, a task that was particularly necessary because Habib’s Index confusingly includes so many examples of what he calls ‘fluctuating ethnic clarity’.³ My Appendix includes enough material to analyse without having to consider individuals

¹ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 272.

² Habib, *Black Lives*, pp. 13-14.

³ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 129; Introduction, p. 17.

whose origin remains uncertain.⁴

In this section I will survey the different types of evidence I have used. I will describe each type, whether and how it has been used in the past, what sort of information it can yield about the lives of Africans, and what problems of interpretation it raises. I will then discuss the problems of identifying an African in an early modern document, providing examples of where other scholars have been misled by the secondary literature, misunderstandings around the word ‘black’, and assumptions that certain surnames must reflect an African origin. Finally, I will discuss the range of different terms used to describe Africans in the archival sources, as opposed to the literary terms that have attracted most attention in the past.

Types of evidence

Parish registers

Without parish registers the evidence of the black presence in early modern England would be largely qualitative rather than quantitative. 166 out of the 290 pieces of evidence from the English archives assembled here come from parish registers, giving us information about 190 of the 350 or so individuals identified. Although Africans have been present in Britain since at least Roman times, the early modern period is the first time when some idea of their numbers can be produced.⁵ This is largely due to the fact that in the wake of the Reformation, the Tudor government began to insist that parish churches kept accurate records of the baptisms, marriages and burials that they

⁴ See Appendix, attached. I have arranged the data by type of evidence and listed each piece of evidence separately, even where it relates to an individual already mentioned elsewhere.

⁵ P. Fryer, *Staying Power: the History of Black People in Britain* (1984), pp. 1-2.

performed. Some parish registers date back to Thomas Cromwell's mandate of 1538. An order made in 1598, requiring older paper records to be transcribed onto more durable parchment was interpreted by many parishes to require the transcribing of records only since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and so many surviving registers actually begin in 1558. Many however do not survive from this period and only begin in 1598, or after the Civil War.⁶

In Scotland, parish registers were kept differently (recording births and deaths rather than baptisms and burials). I have searched the parish registers for Edinburgh, which ought to have been the most fruitful, without success. The difficulty of accessing and searching parish registers for the rest of Scotland has meant that the Scottish picture has remained qualitative.⁷

The search for Africans in English parish registers is far from complete. For example, the Black and Asian Londoners Project only searched baptism records, whereas burial records might have proved more fruitful.⁸ However, no other registers have been searched so systematically, due to a lack of resources. Parish registers are difficult to search for evidence of the black presence because not only are they kept in scattered local record offices, but they are seldom indexed, and where they are, only by surname, when

⁶ D.J. Steel, *National Index of Parish Registers* (12 vols., 1966-1996), I, 3-128. For an index of surviving parish registers in England, Scotland and Wales, see *The Phillimore Atlas and Index of Parish Registers*, ed. C.R. Humphery-Smith (3rd ed., Chichester, 2003).

⁷ I searched the Edinburgh parish registers for Canongate (1564-1620), Holyrood, Chapel Royal (1621-1819) and North Leith (1615-1637) held on microfilm in the Edinburgh Room, Edinburgh Central Library. Parish registers in Scotland are kept in the General Register Office for Scotland, New Register House, Edinburgh, which charges £15 a day entry fees. The search engine at [<http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/>], accessed 19 September 2011] is unhelpful when searching for ethnic descriptions, not surnames.

⁸ An African was more likely to die, and be buried, than to be baptised (partly due to not having been born in this country). See Introduction, p. 11. There are 31 more Burials than Baptisms in the Appendix.

we are searching for description indicative of African origin. Other entries have surfaced as a result of initiatives in local record offices, encouraged by BASA, in which members of the public were encouraged to report any records of ethnic minorities they found in the course of their own research.⁹ However, this method of collection is fairly arbitrary, and material is easily overlooked. Through a process of reading through the entire register for a parish where a black presence has already been noted, the numbers of records can be substantially increased. I have also, where possible, looked through the registers of neighbouring parishes. In this way I have been able to add many hitherto unknown entries to the list.¹⁰

While parish registers yield the most evidence of a black presence, they give very little information beyond name, dates and ethnicity.¹¹ A typical entry, from St. Nicholas, Bristol in July 1595, reads: ‘the first day was Robert a Blackamoore buried’.¹² Sometimes an address, a master’s name, an occupation or some other circumstantial details might be given. Baptism records are more specific about parentage. Burial records sometimes record the cause of death.¹³ Occasionally, we get a longer account, such as the description of the baptism of Mary Phillis in 1597, from the day book of the clerk of

⁹ See Introduction, p. 11. Local websites include Cambridgeshire: [<http://www.cambridgeshire.gov.uk/leisure/archives/online/breakingthebarriers/barriers9.htm>, accessed 19 September 2011]; Guildhall Library: [<http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm>, accessed 19 September 2011]; Devon Record Office: [<http://www.foda.org.uk/main/projects/blackhistoryrefs.htm>, accessed 19 September 2011]; Westminster: [<http://www.westminster.gov.uk/libraries/archives/blackpresence/>, accessed 19 September 2011]; Northamptonshire: [<http://www.northants-black-history.org.uk/index.asp>, accessed 19 September 2011]; Gloucestershire: [<http://www.irespect.net/history/index.htm>, accessed 19 September 2011].

¹⁰ See Bibliography for list of parishes. I am also indebted to Kathy Chater, who sent me references she had found in the course of her work on Africans 1660-1807: K. Chater, *Untold Histories: Black people in England and Wales During the Period of the Slave Trade, c.1660-1807* (Manchester, 2009).

¹¹ For this reason, I have not included a ‘full text’ column in these tables of the Appendix.

¹² Appendix, Burials, no. 35.

¹³ Appendix, Burials, nos. 11, 26-29, 38, 53: 5 plague, 1 scurvy, 1 consumption. We owe this information mostly to the assiduous clerk of St. Botolph Aldgate, Thomas Harridance.

St. Botolph's Aldgate.¹⁴ This level of detail is sadly rare. While this is frustrating, it should not encourage us to read what is not there. To learn more, the evidence of the parish register must be supplemented by other forms of evidence.

Tax returns

Early Modern governments taxed 'strangers' at double the rate of English people.¹⁵

Foreigners were liable to pay a poll tax of 8d if they did not own lands or goods taxable under the lay subsidy. It was the responsibility of the head of the household to ensure this tax was paid.¹⁶ That tax returns could be a source for the black presence was first suggested by W.E. Miller in 1961, when he noted the appearance of four Africans in the 1598 and 1599 assessment of All Hallows, Barking.¹⁷ Marika Sherwood and Imtiaz Habib have pursued this by noting similar examples in the London Returns of Aliens published by Kirk and Kirk for the Huguenot Society, and those published by Irene Scouloudi.¹⁸

Beyond London, no attention has been paid to tax returns from other towns and cities. The returns for Southampton between 1594 and 1611 reveal a considerable black presence. The relevant records were printed in 1987, but have received little notice or

¹⁴ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 18; Chapter 4, pp. 228-235.

¹⁵ *Central Hampshire Lay Subsidy Assessments 1558-1603*, ed. D.F. Vick, (Farnham, 1987), vi. Ungerer misrepresents this as an alternative to levying customs duties on imported slaves, suggesting that the tax was levied only on African slaves, when in fact all foreigners were liable. G. Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery* (Madrid, 2008), p. 71.

¹⁶ L. Luu, 'Natural-born vs. Stranger-born subjects: Aliens and their status in Elizabethan London', in *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, ed. N. Goose and L. Luu (2005), p. 65. See also I. Scouloudi, *Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis 1593, 1627, 1635, 1639* (1985), p. 18.

¹⁷ W.E. Miller, 'Negroes in Elizabethan London', *Notes and Queries*, 8, no.4 (1961), p. 138; Appendix, Tax Returns, nos. 12, 14; Introduction, p. 5.

¹⁸ Appendix, Tax Returns, nos. 2,3,6,8,12,16.

comment.¹⁹ Similar evidence, though in smaller numbers, has been found in Portsmouth and Hull. Thus, in 1598, 1599 and 1600 in Hull, Bartholomew Burnett paid 8d ‘for his neager an aliant by the pole’.²⁰ However, the alien poll tax does not seem to have been universally imposed on Africans, perhaps due to the petty amount of revenue involved. I have found no entries concerning Africans in other towns known to have a black presence, such as Exeter, Plymouth, Barnstaple or Bristol.²¹ Even in cases where we know from other evidence that an African was present, he or she may not appear in the subsidy return. For example, while Edward Winter paid £8 tax on his lands in Lydney in October 1598, September 1599 and September 1600, there is no payment for Edward Swarthy alias nigro, his porter who testified in Star Chamber in 1597.²² Furthermore, the latest entry found mentioning an African was in 1611, suggesting that Africans may have stopped being taxed in this way under the Stuarts.

The tax returns rarely record the names of the Africans. Only 19 of the 60 entries which refer to Africans include names. However, they always record the name of their masters, and so unlike the parish registers can be relied on to record the name, parish and wealth of the master. When these individuals are further investigated, clues to how the Africans came to be in their households can sometimes be discovered.²³ Reading tax returns alone might suggest to modern eyes that Africans were slaves because the relationship between

¹⁹ *Central Hampshire Lay Subsidy Assessments*, ed. Vick, pp. 32-38.

²⁰ Appendix, Tax Returns, nos. 13,17,18.

²¹ I looked at TNA records for Exeter: E179/100/388 [1582]; E179 101/401 [1588]; E 179/101/420 [1599]; and E179/101/440 [1610]; Plymouth: E 179/100/368[1571]; E179/100/384[1582]; E179/101/429 [1602]; E179/101/432[1611]; E179/102/486 [1640]; Barnstaple: E179/100/382 [1577], E179/100/385[1581] and E179/101/411[1592] and Bristol: E179/115/354 [1559]; E179/115/355 [1560]; E179/115/368 [1564]; E179/115/372 [1567]; E179/115/373 [1568]; E179/115/386 [1572]; E179/115/394 [1582]; E179/114/275[1585]; E179/115/412 [1589]; E179/247/6 [1590].

²² T.N.A E179/116/447[1598], E179/116/443 [1599], E179/116/446 [1600].

²³ Chapter 2, pp. 130-3, 154-8.

them and their masters is sometimes expressed in possessive terms, e.g. ‘his neager’, and that the masters are liable for the payment of the tax. However, this could be an abbreviation for a longer phrase, e.g. ‘his two negroos maides’, and the head of the household would be liable for the payments of taxes for his children and servants: this confirms nothing more than the paternal relationship of master and servant.²⁴

Household Accounts

When Africans were present in royal, noble or gentry households, they were recorded in the household records. Sometimes lists of the members of a household were drawn up, such as that of the Earl of Dorset’s at Knole 1613-1624.²⁵ In other cases, payments for clothing, shoes, travel and other necessities such as the payment for a ‘mattress given to the blackamore’ which appears in the Accounts of the Earl of Leicester in March 1583, alert us to the black presence, and give some material details of their lives which cannot be found in parish registers or tax returns.²⁶ The largest number of this sort of reference survives in the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, where Africans are mentioned in over 90 of the items of expenditure at the Scottish court.²⁷ We may learn their occupation within the household, whether they were paid wages, or received other monies or rewards, what sort of clothes they wore, and where they travelled to: the range of information is more diverse but less uniform than that provided by parish registers and tax returns.

²⁴ Chapter 5, p. 270-1.

²⁵ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 113-114.

²⁶ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 97.

²⁷ *ALHTS*; Appendix, Household Accounts.

Household records have been noted by Fryer, Hall, Sherwood, Ungerer and Habib.²⁸

However my further searches through the printed sources have produced additional examples, such as ‘James the Blackamore’, cook in the household of Henry Earl of Bath, 1639-46.²⁹ Unfortunately few household records have been printed. Further searches of manuscript sources might well produce further evidence of this sort.

Church and Municipal accounts

Households were not the only entities drawing up accounts. I have found references to Africans in the accounts of parishes in London and civic authorities in Plymouth and Aberdeen. The London church accounts show Africans as the recipients of charity, such as a payment made to carry one to hospital, but also in one case as the donor of a charitable gift of £10 to help ‘the poore of the parishe’. The Plymouth references, from the Widey Court book, a municipal account book, record payments for burials, while the Aberdeen accounts show that one ‘Hary domingo, a moir’ was employed as a trumpeter and errand boy by the burgh.³⁰ These entries offer brief snapshots of information that can enhance our understanding of the position of Africans in their local societies.

Court Records

The Scottish legal system, highly decentralised prior to 1640, provides few records. In England the problem is the wealth of material left by the highly complex and convoluted system of inter-locking jurisdictions, and the increase in business in this period. Evidence

²⁸ Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 9, 24; K.F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (1995), p. 13; M. Sherwood, ‘Blacks in Tudor England’, *History Today*, 53 (October 2003), pp.40-42; Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery*, p. 73 and Habib, *Black Lives*, pp. 73-4 and Index no. 154.

²⁹ I have looked at printed household accounts. See Appendix, Household Accounts.

³⁰ Appendix, Church and Municipal Accounts, nos. 1,2,4,7,8,11,12.

of Africans in England exists in the English records, but a full survey of all the legal repositories would be an impossible task. Most legal records are, when indexed at all, indexed by the name of the plaintiff, sometimes the defendant, or the place. Only one individual of African origin appeared in my search of the National Archives online catalogue, and this was because he was given the alias 'nigro'.³¹ Occasionally, relevant material can be found by looking for the names of men and women known to have had Africans in their households (as identified through parish registers and tax returns), such as Hector Nunes, who was a regular litigant.³² What follows is an attempt to give some sense of the work that has been done, and the cases that have emerged.

Local Courts

1. Assizes: The records of one of the six circuits into which this major criminal jurisdiction was organised have survived for the pre-1640 period, and have been very fully studied and indexed.³³ No evidence of a black presence has been found.
2. Quarter Sessions, on the other hand, which dealt with petty crimes and issues of administrative law, contains a small deposit of relevant cases. It was at the Quarter Sessions that men were fined for fathering illegitimate children, and in some cases the mothers were identified as African. In other cases Africans were both accused of and

³¹ Appendix, Court Records, no. 16. The testimony of 'Edward Swarthy alias nigro' came to light thanks to the fact that it had been stored separately from the other papers relating to the case, and so was recorded in more detail in the National Archives online Catalogue. Despite the fact that it is the only case that comes up on a search for 'negro' in this time period, it has so far evaded the attention of scholars.

³² Appendix, Court Records, nos. 10, 15, Burials, nos. 13, 17; Tax Returns, no. 7; C. Meyers, 'Lawsuits in Elizabethan Courts of Law: The Adventures of Dr. Hector Nunes, 1566-1591: A Precip', *Journal of European Economic History* 25/1 (1996), pp. 157-8. Rosalyn Knutson demonstrated the effectiveness of this tactic in her 1994 article, see Introduction, pp. 15-16.

³³ J.S. Cockburn's *Calendar of Assize Records: Home Circuit Indictments: Elizabeth I and James I* (10 vols., London, 1975-8).

victims of theft.³⁴

3. There were also various borough courts and manorial courts scattered across the country. For example, the Court Leet of Southampton met regularly to regulate local affairs. Its records provide some evidence of the activities of townsmen known to have Africans in their households, but make no reference to the Africans themselves.³⁵ One case involving two ‘negroes’ was recorded in the Southampton Book of Remembrance in 1591. ‘Mary, a blackamoor’, servant to French privateer Peter Sallenuve appears in the Dorchester’s Offenders’ Book in 1633.³⁶ Beyond this, no further evidence relating to Africans has emerged from the local courts to date.

4. For London, the minutes of the Court of Governors of the Bridewell, a house of correction for petty offenders, vagrants and immoral persons, are a useful source.³⁷ They have long been mined by Shakespeare scholars and social historians for evidence of the London underworld, especially the world of prostitution.³⁸ As Peter Fryer and others have argued that some African women became prostitutes, the Bridewell archive may be the place to find evidence to confirm or modify this idea.³⁹

Central Royal Courts

The most useful and detailed evidence of Africans to be found in English legal documentation so far has been found in the records of the royal courts that met at

³⁴ Appendix, Court Records, nos. 23, 25, 26, 30; Chapter 3, p. 203 ; Chapter 4, p. 250.

³⁵ *Court Leet Records*, ed. F.J.C. Hearnshaw and D.M. Hearnshaw (3 vols., Southampton Record Society, Southampton, 1905-7).

³⁶ Appendix, Court Records, nos. 11, 34.

³⁷ The minutes of the Bridewell Governors’ court survive at Bethlem Royal Hospital, Beckenham, Kent; microfilm copies are available at the LMA.

³⁸ E.g. L. Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words and Sex in Early Modern London* (1996); P.Griffiths, *Lost Londons Change, Crime, and Control in the Capital City, 1550-1660* (2008).

³⁹ Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 9. See my discussion, Chapter 3, pp. 184-9.

Westminster, and whose procedures involved inquisitorial fact-finding mechanisms. References to Africans have been found in the records of the Court of Chancery, the Court of Star Chamber, The Court of Requests and the High Court of Admiralty. The Court of Chancery was the court of the Lord Chancellor, which ruled on disputes over inheritance, wills, lands, trusts, debts, marriage settlements, apprenticeships and the like. As an equity court, it was meant to dispense merciful justice, and was not strictly bound by the common law. Two further equity courts, The Court of Star Chamber and the Court of Requests were both offshoots of the King's Council, deriving from the King's ancient right to give legal judgements. Both became separate courts of law in 1485, and were abolished by the Long Parliament in 1641-2. Star Chamber dealt with cases of public disorder, riot, forcible entry and assault, though many cases really seem to revolve around property disputes. The Court of Requests was intended to provide easy access to the royal justice for poor men and women. In reality, a wide variety of people were attracted by its relatively cheap and simple procedure.

All three courts followed similar procedures, which allowed both parties to make extensive statements, comments on the matters at issue, comments on their opponents' contentions, and to produce a range of testimony to advance their cases. All this provides a fascinating repository of evidence for the social historian. Star Chamber tended to deal with what Sharpe calls 'a better class of accused', while the Court of Requests and Chancery became popular with the mercantile elite.⁴⁰ Thus, Africans appear in court records when their gentry and merchant masters went to court. Sometimes they gave evidence themselves; sometimes their presence in the household was mentioned in

⁴⁰ J.A. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England 1550-1750* (London, 1984), p. 51.

passing.

The records of the High Court of Admiralty (HCA), a court which also employed the inquisitorial procedures used by Chancery, Requests, and Star Chamber provide further evidence of Africans in Britain. The Admiralty had jurisdiction over matters at sea. The Court dealt with both criminal cases (piracy, treason, murder, mutiny, desertion, sodomy, insurance fraud, rape and robbery) and civil disputes (prize and instance). ‘Instance’ cases dealt with commercial disputes over wages, collisions, pilotage, salvage and droits (the Admiralty’s right to a percentage of prize goods, wrecks, flotsam and jetsam). As these matters involved mariners, and all the business of seafaring, the courts’ records are a likely source of material relating to Africans, who of course travelled to Britain by sea, and sometimes worked as sailors.⁴¹ The Court’s records can provide details of English trading with Africa, as well as the actions of privateers, which may have resulted in the capture of ‘negroes’ from foreign shipping. Paul Hair has commented that the HCA records ‘include scores of references to export cargoes of English ships from Guinea 1600-1640 without the listed commodities including slaves’, and that the earliest references to slave cargoes are from the 1640s.⁴² Imtiaz Habib refers to a bottomry case in the High Court of Admiralty involving a ‘cargo of negroes’ in 1600.⁴³ He suggests

⁴¹ See Chapter 3, pp. 183-4.

⁴² P.E.H. Hair, ‘Attitudes to Africans in English Primary Sources on Guinea up to 1650’ *History in Africa*, 26 (1999), p. 66 cites TNA HCA 13/72, which mentions 113 slaves aboard the *Content*, 1647.

⁴³ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 101 and Index, no. 239. Bottomry (which Marsden does not mention) is defined by the *OED* as: ‘A species of contract of the nature of a mortgage, whereby the owner of a ship, or the master as his agent, borrows money to enable him to carry on or complete a voyage, and pledges the ship as security for repayment of the money. If the ship is lost, the lender loses his money; but if it arrives safe, he receives the principal together with the interest or premium stipulated, however it may exceed the usual or legal rate of interest’. ‘bottomry, n.’, *OED* [<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/display/50025705?keytype=ref&ijkey=gnxMwXv7PZ4AE>, accessed 19 September 2011].

that this ‘must have involved wrangling over a shipload of black people who are being brought into England on a ship that has not been paid for’. His reference for this case is to Marsden’s introduction to a printed selection of cases, in which the ‘cargo of negroes’ is mentioned in passing. But there is no way of knowing in what context the cargo was mentioned in the case, or indeed whether it was a bottomry case at all: the numbering of the cases has changed since Marsden wrote in 1894, and the document he seems to refer to makes no such mention.⁴⁴

The evidence found in court records must therefore be approached with caution, as the words spoken in court were not recorded, and each individual was telling his own, highly subjective version of the truth, and that was further distorted by the imposition of formulaic legal prose and the exigencies of clerical procedure. Nonetheless, the nature of the records ensures that these are perhaps the most illuminating of all the evidence for Africans in Britain.

Church court records

Africans also appear in the records of the church courts.⁴⁵ Like other members of society, they were occasionally accused of involvement in moral offences such as fornication and prostitution. In Essex and West Sussex, Englishwomen were cited for fornication with men described as ‘blackemores’.⁴⁶ In cases of prostitution, Africans appear more

⁴⁴ *Select Pleas in the Court of the Admiralty*, ed. R.G. Marsden (2 vols. 1894), II, xvi. Marsden quotes ‘File 68, no. 115’. HCA 24/68/115 is a dispute between John Eccleston, William Halliday and William Heybourne, concerning the fitting out of *The Harvest*, dated 1st December 1601. It makes no mention of a ‘cargo of negroes’.

⁴⁵ These are included in Appendix, Court Records table.

⁴⁶ Appendix, Court Records, nos. 13, 14.

frequently as customers.⁴⁷ In two cases, Africans themselves came before the court: one man confessed that he had ‘had the use of the body of Margery Williams’, while a woman was presented ‘for living incontinently with Walter Church’.⁴⁸ Finding cases like this is again a difficult task, as there is no way to search the indexes for cases mentioning ‘blackamoors’. Once found, we do not learn much more about the individual besides their moral crime, not even a name in some cases. Nonetheless, these records provide an important embellishment to the brief references to illegitimate, mixed-race children in the parish registers, who may be the result of the kinds of liaisons documented in the church courts. As the cases discussed here were happened upon, and not found as the result of a comprehensive search through all extant church court records, there may be many more similar examples still to be uncovered.

Wills and Inventories

In cases where an African is known to be living in a certain household, it might be hoped that some reference might be made to them in their master’s will. However, only four wills have been found which mention Africans: those of Nicholas Witchals, William Offlie, Paul Bayning, and Maria Groce.⁴⁹ In these cases, the Africans are exceptionally well documented, appearing in parish registers or accounts and tax returns as well. These wills can give us some idea of the individual’s standing in the household, and how they were viewed by their masters or mistresses. Unfortunately the wills of various other individuals known to have had Africans in their households do not mention them.⁵⁰ P.E.H

⁴⁷ See Chapter 3, pp. 208-9.

⁴⁸ Appendix, Court Records, nos. 7, 33.

⁴⁹ Appendix, Wills and Inventories, nos. 1-4.

⁵⁰ For example: Hector Nunes, TNA PROB 11/78; Richard Beiston, TNA PROB 11/104; William Hayman, TNA PROB 11/180; Sir William Pole, TNA PROB 11/173; John Sedgwick, TNA PROB 11/107; Richard Whytinge, HRO, 1593B/85/1.

Hair searched the wills of seamen and traders in Guinea in the period 1553-1565 and found no mention of Africans.⁵¹ This in itself is instructive, as if Africans were thought of as property, surely there would be more reference to them here. Habib discusses the will of Nicholas Witchals of Barnstaple, but misrepresents it, as he has not read the original. Confused by the abbreviated abstract printed by the Devonshire Association in 1906, Habib argues that Anthony, a black servant in Witchals' household, was 'part of the catalog [sic] of property that syntactically begins with him in the will's text, and that is being passed on to the wife'.⁵² However the original document states that Anthony is actually the recipient of a generous legacy.⁵³ This shows the importance of reading the original documents where possible. The wills found in Hampshire and London confirm the model of Africans being beneficiaries of wills rather than being disposed of in them.⁵⁴ No wills made by Africans have yet been discovered, but an inventory of the property of an African woman, Cattelena, of Almondsbury, Gloucestershire has been found in Bristol.⁵⁵ The next best thing to a will, and suggestive that a will might have existed; this shows that an African individual might hold property.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, it is not easy to find such evidence in large numbers.

Diaries and Letters

There are very few references to Africans in the diaries of the period. Henry Machyn

⁵¹ P.E.H.Hair and J.D.Alsop, *English Seamen and Traders in Guinea, 1553-1565: the New Evidence of their Wills* (1992), p. 107.

⁵² Habib, *Black Lives*, p.204; *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art*, XXXVIII (1906), p. 240.

⁵³ Appendix, Wills and Inventories, no. 1.

⁵⁴ Appendix, Wills and Inventories, no. 4. See Chapter 3, pp. 210-12 for detailed discussion of these wills.

⁵⁵ Appendix, Wills and Inventories, no. 5.

⁵⁶ Another inventory of 1574, listing the heirship goods claimed from Dame Liliash Ruthven, Lady Drummond, by her son Patrick Lord Drummond as son and heir to his deceased father David Lord Drummond including an entry for 'ane blak moir' mixed in with sundry inanimate objects remains problematic: The National Archives of Scotland, GD 160/528/33.

mentioned a ‘blake-mor’ in 1554.⁵⁷ Sir Arthur Throckmorton made the brief entry in 1589: ‘I tooke the Moore Antony of Guinea to serve me’. No further mention of Antony is made in the diary, which covers the years 1578-1596, and 1609-1613.⁵⁸ The nature of Throckmorton’s diary, with its notes of purchasing liveries, paying servant’s wages, obtaining household items, such as candles, and olives from Genoa makes its content closer to the household accounts described above than a modern narrative diary. There are no more colourful descriptions, such as those to be found in the later diaries of Samuel Pepys and Sir John Reresby.⁵⁹ Even Lady Anne Clifford, who is known to have had two African servants, makes no mention of them in her diary, although she does refer to other servants.⁶⁰ The only personal anecdotal evidence is from an account by the German Lupold van Wedel of his travels in England in 1584-5, in which he mentions taking a ‘Moor’ with him from Gravesend to Hamburg.⁶¹

Further letters can be found in the State Papers, which yield a handful of interesting references to Africans. I have read the documents listed under ‘negroes’ in the Indexes, but this is not an exhaustive method. For example, the reference to a blackamore in John Chamberlain’s 12 July 1623 letter to Dudley Carleton is elided by the Calendar, which merely refers to ‘three Italian servants’, and so is not included in the index under ‘negroes’.⁶² Many other references may be concealed in this way. The Calendar also

⁵⁷ *The Diary of Henry Machyn: Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London (1550-1563)* ed. J.G. Nicholls (Camden Soc., 1st ser., XLII, 1848), p. 74; Chapter 2, pp. 125-6.

⁵⁸ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 7.

⁵⁹ S. Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. R. Latham and W. Matthews (11 vols., 1970), I, p. 262, II, p. 61, III, p. 95, VI, p. 215, VII, pp. 98, 101, VIII, p. 243, IX, p. 510 ; *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, ed. A. Browning (1991), pp. 108-110.

⁶⁰ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 114, 115.

⁶¹ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 5; Chapter 3, p. 213.

⁶² Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no 20; CSPD, 1623-1625, p. 13.

abbreviates already too brief references and does not transcribe the exact terminology used to describe the Africans. For these reasons it is imperative to return to the original document where possible. The State Papers can also provide useful background information about the people and places associated with the Africans. The evidence of diaries and letters can be suggestive but its idiosyncratic nature and scarcity make for a frustrating source of evidence.

Voyage Accounts

The accounts of English voyages to Africa and the Caribbean contain some references to Africans being brought to England.⁶³ Many of them were published in Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* (1598), a collection of voyage accounts collected together to encourage further English ventures.⁶⁴ However, as Emily Bartels has pointed out, Hakluyt should not be treated as comprehensive: it was in fact highly selective and polemical.⁶⁵ The most quoted and examined case found in Hakluyt is that of the 5 Africans John Lok brought to England in 1555.⁶⁶ The account of their stay and subsequent return to Guinea is the fullest account of Africans in England to be found in Hakluyt, yet it is only a few lines long. We only learn the names of three of these five men thanks to later descriptions of them and their services as interpreters on William Towerson's voyage of 1556-7. However, other voyage accounts also yield some data.

⁶³ These are easily accessible and so not included in the Appendix.

⁶⁴ R. Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (12 vols., Glasgow, 1903-5).

⁶⁵ E.C. Bartels, 'Imperialist Beginnings. Richard Hakluyt and the Construction of Africa', *Criticism*, 34 (1992), pp.517-38.

⁶⁶ Hakluyt, VI, 176, 216-9; Chapter 2, pp. 134-6. Quoted by Fryer, *Staying Power*, p.8, this story is widespread enough to appear in C. Levin, *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (2002), p. 119. Habib's treatment of the case, p. 68, is very confused, due to his reliance on secondary sources. He does not include these Africans in his table.

Some references are more vague, such as the ‘Ethiopian as blacke as cole brought to England’ referred to by George Best in 1577, who ‘taking a faire English woman to wife, begat a sonne in all respects as blacke as the father’.⁶⁷ Other accounts published by the Hakluyt Society reveal occasional references, such as the journal kept aboard the *Primrose* in 1586, which mentions ‘a Nigro to bee our guide which we brought owte of Inglande with us that dwelte before in this Illand [Santiago, Cape Verde Islands]’.⁶⁸ References such as these are useful in establishing some elements of the black experience, such as how Africans came to be in England, but the absence of names make them problematic in terms of quantifying the black presence, as the individuals referred to might also appear in other sources, and there is no way of identifying them. Spanish evidence yields further information.⁶⁹ Captured English sailors were interrogated by the Inquisition, considered highly suspect ‘Lutherans’. The testimony of a large group of them abandoned in Mexico by Sir John Hawkins in 1568 was gathered and translated by G.R.G. Conway in the 1920s, and is a valuable source for the events of that voyage, exploited by Paul Hair.⁷⁰ Other examinations of captured Englishmen such as John Drake in 1584 or Africans such as Diogo in 1615 can also provide new angles on events.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Hakluyt, VII, 262.

⁶⁸ *Drake's West Indian Voyage, 1585-6*, ed. M. Frear Keller (Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser., CXLVIII, 1981), p. 189; Chapter 1, p. 111-2; Chapter 5, p. 261.

⁶⁹ *Spanish Documents Concerning English Voyages to the Caribbean, 1527-1568*, ed. I.A. Wright (Hakluyt Soc. 2nd ser., LXII, 1929); *Documents Concerning English Voyages to the Spanish Main 1569-1580*, ed. I.A. Wright (Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser., LXXI, 1932); *Further English Voyages to Spanish America, 1583-1594*, ed. I.A. Wright (Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser. XCIX, 1949).

⁷⁰ H. Kelsey, *Sir John Hawkins: Elizabeth's Slave Trader* (2003), p. 93; *Hawkins in Guinea, 1567-1568*, ed. P.E.H. Hair (Leipzig, 2000), p. 4; G.R.G. Conway, *An Englishman in the Mexican Inquisition* (Mexico City, 1927); J. Street, ‘The G. R. G. Conway Collection in Cambridge University Library: A Checklist’, *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 37, no.1 (Feb. 1957), pp. 60-81; Cambridge University Library, Additional Manuscripts, 7226-7306. Other copies are held at the Library of Congress and the University of Aberdeen.

⁷¹ Drake: *New Light on Drake: a Collection of Documents Relating to his Voyage of Circumnavigation, 1577-1580*, ed. Z. Nuttall (Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser., XXXIV, 1914), p. 32; Chapter 1, pp. 110-1. Diogo: Appendix, Court Records, no. 24; Chapter 2, p. 141; Chapter 4, p. 257; Chapter 5, p. 259-60.

Unfortunately, the Spanish interrogators were more interested in their captives' religious beliefs than their knowledge of Africans in England. In this context, the presence of Africans in English ports and in the households of seafaring Englishmen, or men who sponsored or were otherwise linked with maritime ventures then becomes unsurprising.

Literary and Visual evidence

As we saw in the historiographical survey, non-documentary evidence does not always clearly prove a black presence. A literary character such as Lucy Negro cannot be assumed to be a real African living in Clerkenwell.⁷² Indeed, some critics have assumed that counterfeit black faces were seen on the English stage long before they emerged on the English streets.⁷³ Neither can literary evidence be used as straightforward proof of attitudes towards Africans. For example, most of the explicitly 'racist' language in Shakespeare's *Othello* is uttered by Iago, his sworn enemy, in an attempt to provoke Brabantio, and must be read alongside the general acceptance of Othello in Venetian society.⁷⁴ Equally, William Dunbar's poem to *Ane Blak Moir* (1507) has been described as 'venomous', 'shocking' and 'uniquely bad'; but his insulting tone must be seen in the context of the Scottish tradition of flyting, or poetic insult, which was wielded at a wide range of targets.⁷⁵ Nonetheless, used with care, and where possible in conjunction with other sources, literary and visual material can add to our understanding of the role of Africans in early modern British society. Thus, a passing reference in a play can display

⁷² See Introduction, pp. 7, 15, and Chapter 3, pp. 184-6 for more on Lucy Negro.

⁷³ e.g. A.G. Barthelemy, *Black Face, Malignant Race: the Representations of Blacks in English Drama from Shakespeare to Southerne* (1987), x.

⁷⁴ *Othello*, I. i. 85-6, 107-8, 124.

⁷⁵ W. Dunbar, *The poems of William Dunbar*, ed. P. Bawcutt (Glasgow, 1998), p.113; Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 33, n. 40; T. Scott, *Dunbar: a critical exposition of the poems* (Edinburgh 1966), p. 67; P. Bawcutt, 'The Art of Flyting', *Scottish Literary Journal*, 10, no. 2 (1983), pp. 5-24.

the level of knowledge of Africa expected of the audience by the playwright. Conversely, the description of Africa in Marlowe's *Tamberlaine* betrays the level of ignorance in 1588.⁷⁶

As masques of moors and symbolic 'blackamoors' were popular in Renaissance culture, it is often difficult to identify whether a real or counterfeit African is intended.⁷⁷ Thus, when William Fowler describes how as part of the pageantry marking the baptism of Prince Henry in Scotland in 1594, 'there came into the sight of them all, a *Black-Moore*, drawing (as it seemed to the beholders) a triumphal Chariot', it is not entirely clear whether the italicized moor is a real African or just a made-up performer.⁷⁸ Each reference of this sort must be carefully assessed on its own merits, and in conjunction with other evidence. When the Treasurer's accounts include payments such as that for 'thre lamis skynnis quhairof was maid four bonnets of fals hair to the saidis mores' [three lambs skins, whereof was made four bonnets of false hair for the said moors], part of the expenses for the celebration of the baptism of the future James VI and I in 1566, we may conclude that Scottish men dressed up as moors.⁷⁹ Equally, Henry Peacham's drawing of a black figure in a production of *Titus Andronicus* most likely shows a white man dressed as a black man.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ C. Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great*, ed. J.W. Harper (1971) p. 110; E. Seaton, 'Marlowe's Map' *Essays and Studies*, X (1924), pp. 16-17.

⁷⁷ For Africans in masques and pageantry see Fryer, *Staying Power*, pp. 25-27, E.D. Jones, *Othello's Countrymen* (1965), pp. 27-36; Barthelemy, *Black Face, Maligned Race*, pp. 18-71 and Chapter 3, pp. 172-8.

⁷⁸ W. Fowler, *A True Report of the Most Tryumphant, and Royall Accomplishment of the Baptisme of the Most Excellent, Right High, and Mightie Prince, Henry Fredericke, by the Grace of God, Prince of Scotland, and now Prince of Wales* (1603), unpaginated; Chapter 3, p. 171-4.

⁷⁹ *ALHTS*, XII, 406.

⁸⁰ J. Schlueter, 'Rereading the Peacham Drawing', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 50, no. 2 (Summer 1999), pp. 171-184.

Many commentators have taken William Dunbar's poem *Ane Blak Moir* as evidence that the Tournament of the Black Lady of 1507 featured one of the African women present at the court of James IV. It is uncertain which of these women was involved. Habib asserts that:

Although the Scottish treasury records do not explicitly name either Elen More or Margaret More in connection with the black lady tournaments or include any other information that the figure is in fact a black person, no one has seriously doubted that one of them is the black figure in the pageant, except Paul Edwards.⁸¹

However the names 'Margaret' and 'Elene' only appear in the records for the first time in 1511 and 1512. Therefore it is impossible to know whether the African women using these names in 1512 were the same women who arrived at court in 1504. Edwards suggests that the lady of the tournament is another, unnamed black woman. His reason is that Dunbar's poem says the lady presiding over the tournament landed 'furth of the last schippis', and so must have been a very recent arrival, while the original two black maids arrived in 1504, three years earlier. However Dunbar's poetry cannot be relied upon to accurately record dates.

Going further, Louise Fradenburg suggested that the payments for 'ane pair of blak sleffis [sleeves] and gluffis [gloves] to hir of blak seymys [chamois] leder [leather]' shows that the 'black lady' of the Tournament may have been a white woman in disguise.⁸² This impression is given further weight by the next payment in the account, for 'ii elne plesance to be sleffis abone [above] hir blak sleffis': the 'Black Lady' was wearing two

⁸¹ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 33, n. 40. For Edwards, see Introduction, p. 10.

⁸² L.O., Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament: Arts of Rule in Late Medieval Scotland* (1991), p. 254.

pairs of sleeves: black leather beneath the ‘pleasance’, a fine gauzy material. Worn by a white woman this would give the impression of dark skin.⁸³ The accounts do not however include any reference to face paint or wigs. Furthermore, Dunbar’s poem, which describes other African physical characteristics, such as thick lips and a short ‘cat-like’ nose, seems to support the case that the woman was truly African. Nonetheless, the identification remains insecure.

Even images that appear to be portraits of Africans must be treated with caution. The images of a black trumpeter in the Westminster Tournament Roll of 1511 can be confirmed as probable portrait by the payment of wages to ‘John Blanke the blacke Trumpet’ in the exchequer rolls.⁸⁴ However, other images are not so straightforward. Kim F. Hall has identified what appears to be the earliest representation of a black attendant in a portrait: a black man standing behind the horse of Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby d’Eresby.⁸⁵ However, as the portrait is believed to be posthumous, it remains uncertain whether the image was painted from life, and depicts an African man who actually lived at Grimsthorpe, or was in fact a symbolic figure, announcing the subject’s death just like the black memento mori skull he carries. The African musicians depicted in a 1575 painting are corroborated in part by a payment in the Lord Chamberlain’s 1575 accounts for decorative clothing for ‘a blackamore’.⁸⁶

⁸³ *ALHTS*, III, 259.

⁸⁴ Illustration no.1; Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 72. This connection was first made by Sydney Anglo. See his *The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster* (2 vols., Oxford, 1968), I, 85, 98, II: plate iii, membranes 3-5, plate xviii, membranes 28-9; Chapter 3, p. 190. See also S. Anglo, ‘Court Festivals of HVII’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 43 (Manchester, 1960-1), p.42.

⁸⁵ Illustration no. 6; Hall, *Things of Darkness*, p. 5. This portrait still hangs at Grimsthorpe Castle in Lincolnshire, the Willoughby family home since 1516.

⁸⁶ A.C. Sewter, ‘Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth’, *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 76 (March, 1940), pp. 70-76; Appendix, Household accounts, nos. 102-4; Chapter 3, p. 171.

Evidence of Africans in Britain is not easy to find. It is scattered over a wide range of different sources. Their diversity means that there are some that do not fit easily into categories examined here. To some extent, an intuitive approach has been necessary to seek out some of the more obscure pieces of evidence, and in some cases luck played a part. Once found, the individual reference often yields little. However the collective weight of references, when used in conjunction, can help us to piece together a more nuanced and varied image of their lives than has previously been offered.

How to identify an African in the sources

When looking for Africans in the archives, it is important to be clear about what is acceptable evidence. Each reference must be examined in its original context, with an understanding of early modern vocabulary, in order to establish whether the individual in question is of African origin. Individuals have in the past been mistakenly identified as Africans in three main ways. The first is a consequence of over-reliance on the secondary literature. The second is due to the fact that the word 'black' can be a misleading descriptor, and the third is where a surname, such as 'Black' or 'Moore', is taken as proof of African identity.

Secondary literature

Peter Fryer showed that a reliance on secondary literature can lead to the misidentification of Africans when he pointed out that James Walvin's assertion that 'a group of Negroes built their own house in London in 1597, contrary to building

regulations' rested on shaky foundations. The name 'Negoose' in the Star Chamber case had been miscopied as 'Negroose' by E.M. Leonard, and then taken to mean 'Negroes' by James Walvin.⁸⁷ In his latest book, Imtiaz Habib has asserted that Thomasina, a dwarf at the court of Elizabeth I, was black. He had not examined the evidence himself, but claimed that 'this individual is identified by Fryer as a blackamore', and that this had been confirmed by Stephen Greenblatt.⁸⁸ Fryer, however, made no such assertion; and while Greenblatt does claim that Elizabeth had at least two black servants, one entertainer and one page, he makes no specific reference to Thomasina.⁸⁹ It is clear enough when we consult the records of Elizabeth's payments for new clothes for these courtiers that Thomasina is only ever described as a dwarf, and never as of African origin. In fact she may have been from Italy.⁹⁰

A third example of a likely misidentification based on secondary sources is the description of Samuel, John Hawkins's page in 1568, as a black man.⁹¹ This goes back to a passing reference in a dramatic retelling of Hawkins' third voyage written by Rayner Unwin in 1961: 'As he [Hawkins] went [to inspect the damage] he called Samuel, his negro page, demanding a tankard of beer'.⁹² Unwin seems to have drawn on Job Hortop's

⁸⁷ Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 463, n. 21; J. Walvin, *Black and White: the Negro and English Society 1555-1945* (1973), p. 8; E.M. Leonard, *The Early History of English Poor Relief* (Cambridge, 1900), p. 297; John Hawarde, *Les Reportes de Cases in Camera Stellata 1593 to 1609*, ed. W.P. Baildon (1894), p. 79; The case was TNA, STAC 5/ D26/12 (Dowman v. Cooke, Negroose and Mordant).

⁸⁸ Habib, *Black Lives*, pp. 2, 72, Index no. 143.

⁸⁹ *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. S. Greenblatt (1997), p. 23. He may be repeating Walvin, *Black and White*, p. 9.

⁹⁰ TNA, LC 5/34; J. Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlocked* (1988), p. 106, citing BL Egerton 2806: this is *A Boke of Warrants to the Great Guarderobe* (formerly in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps) which recorded all the work carried out by tailors, embroiderers, and other craftsmen for the Wardrobe of the Robes, 1568-1588. For the suggestion of Italian origin see P. Johnson, *Elizabeth: A Biography* (1974), p. 202.

⁹¹ Sherwood, 'Blacks in Tudor England', p. 41; Habib Index, no. 130.

⁹² R.Unwin, *The Defeat of John Hawkins: a Biography of his Third Slaving Voyage* (1961), p. 205; J.

1591 account: ‘Our General courageously cheered up his soldiers and gunners, and called to Samuel, his page for a cup of beer, who brought it to him in a silver cup’.⁹³ Hortop makes no mention of Samuel’s ethnicity, and while it is not impossible that he was black, equally there is no evidence that he was.⁹⁴ These examples show that it is imperative to return to the original sources to test the assertions of modern historians.

Blackness

The word ‘black’, being a general adjective that can be applied to a whole range of inanimate objects, as well as describing someone with dark hair, can be misleading when identifying references to Africans.⁹⁵ For example, in his *Shakespeare and Race* (2000), Imtiaz Habib used Nicholas Assheton’s diary entry of 15 January 1618 as evidence of black servants being indispensable at this time.⁹⁶ It read: ‘I had a black sent from Middleton, but because I heard my Cooz. Assheton had none, I sent word to Mr. Greenhalgh that they should give mine to Cousin Radcliffe’.⁹⁷ He paid little attention to the following sentence: ‘Sir Ric. Assheton’s funeral: a great company: I a mourner, in my own old cloke’, or to the note in F.R. Raines’s 1848 edition of the text which glossed this paragraph with the helpful note: ‘black...anciently though not invariably used at funerals. In the reign of James I black cloth was given at funerals, the quantity varying with the

Potter, ‘Unwin, Rayner Stephens (1925–2000)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/74914>, accessed 18 March 2008]

⁹³ Hakluyt, IX, 453. Hortop originally published his account in 1591, it was reprinted by Hakluyt in 1598. B. Morgan, ‘Hortop, Job (fl. 1550–1591)’, *ODNB*. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13830>, accessed 9 July 2011]

⁹⁴ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 70, admits that this is a ‘speculative citation, but a probable one nonetheless’.

⁹⁵ For ‘black’ as a nickname, see below, pp. 51–2.

⁹⁶ I. Habib, *Shakespeare and Race: Postcolonial Praxis in the Early Modern Period* (2000), p. 28.

⁹⁷ R. Houlbrooke, *English Family Life 1576–1716: An Anthology from Diaries* (1988), p. 280.

rank of the individual who received it.⁹⁸ Thus, having given his black *cloth* to his cousin, Nicholas wore his ‘own old cloke’ to the funeral.⁹⁹

Another description of a black object has been confused for a description of a black individual by Cornwall Record office researchers, who listed an entry in a 1569 Muster Roll as a reference to a black man.¹⁰⁰ However, the entry, under Budock parish, reads: ‘Ryc[hard] Moer, black bill’, not as they had it ‘Ryc[hard] Moer, black, bill’. The vital comma makes all the difference, as does the knowledge that in the various entries which read ‘black bill’, it is the bill, a weapon which has a black handle, which is being described as ‘black’, not the men who wield them.¹⁰¹ Similarly, it has been reported that in 1619, a black boy was paid 4d to send an acquittance to the Lady Craven by the masters of Blundells School in Tiverton, Devon.¹⁰² However, the account book was misread, as the entry in fact reads: ‘Item paide for a blacke *Box* to send an Acquittance to the Lady Craven - 000 00 04’.¹⁰³

Sometimes, men described as ‘black’ are most likely to have been not Africans, but white with black hair or dark features. In 1596, the Privy Council ordered the Council of the North to conduct a search for ‘one Greene, a tall black man, dwelling in the city of York’, accused of harbouring Jesuits and priests. The house of four known Greenes in York were

⁹⁸ *The Journal of Nicholas Assheton of Downham in the County of Lancashire, Esq.*, ed. F.R Raines, (Chetham Soc., old ser., XIV, 1848), p. 77, n.1.

⁹⁹ Habib seems to have recognized this particular mistake, as Assheton’s cloak does not feature in his 2008 book.

¹⁰⁰ Cornwall Record Office, ‘Ethnic Register Entries for Marika Sherwood’ (unpublished typescript available at Cornwall Record Office, Truro).

¹⁰¹ *The Cornwall Muster Roll for 1569*, ed. H. L. Douch (1984), x, p. 78.

¹⁰² L. MacKeith, *Local Black History: a beginning in Devon* (Exeter, 2003), p. 11; Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 206, Index, no. 304.

¹⁰³ Blundell’s School Archive E8/1.1, f. 12 (Blundell’s Account Book 1610-1792). My italics.

searched but were found to be ‘all of good fame, well affected in religion and very conformable to her Majesty’s laws’.¹⁰⁴ While there may have been four men named Green with dark hair living in later 16th century York, it seems highly unlikely that there were four African men of that name. John Manningham described ‘Dr. Witheres, who preached at Paul’s Cross in November 1602 as a ‘black man’. He is most likely to have had black hair, and can be tentatively identified as either Henry Witheres, vicar of Aynsford, Kent (1574-1604), Robert Withers, Prebend of Wells Cathedral (1594-1625) or Thomas Withers, of Charlecombe and Badgeworth in Somerset (1586-1609).¹⁰⁵ These examples show that the context of all references in the sources must always be thoroughly investigated.

Surnames

In his book *Black Lives in the English Archives* (2008), Imtiaz Habib wrote:

The data extracted from parish registers and ecclesiastical courts is based on conservative and permissive criteria of selection, containing entries that cite black people not only in the rhetorically underlined forms recognized and accepted by traditional history such as ‘a/the blackamore/blackamoore’ or ‘a/the moor’ or ‘a/the negro,’ but also those that use other forms of black names and without any emphases, such as ‘Rose Blackmoore’ or ‘Henry Blackemer’, or ‘negus’ or ‘morian’, or even ‘blackman’. Representing what in this book’s view are the extinct variations of the more recognizable morphologies of black names, and the non-standard orthography and improvisational documentary habits of the local clerical record keeper, these kinds of entries, while being the most uncertain in the authenticity of their black content, are nevertheless included here in order to compensate for the over-conservative, mutually reinforcing, multilayered assumptions of traditional early modern history that have made black people in

¹⁰⁴ *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G., &c: Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, ed. R. Cecil, R.A. Roberts, E. Salisbury, M. Guiseppi and G.D. Owen (24 vols., 1883-1976), VI, 339; D.M Palliser ‘Civic Mentality and the Environment in Tudor York’ in J. Barry, ed., *The Tudor and Stuart Town: A Reader in English Urban History* (1990), p. 229.

¹⁰⁵ *The Diary of John Manningham, of the Middle Temple, and Bradbourne, Kent, Barrister-at-Law, 1602 – 3*, ed. J. Bruce (Camden Soc., old ser., XCIX, 1868), p. 76; Clergy of the Church of England Database [<http://eagle.cch.kcl.ac.uk:8080/cce/persons/>, accessed 19 September 2011]

Tudor and Stuart England absent by default.¹⁰⁶

The identification of Africans in archival sources by surname alone had been pioneered by Marika Sherwood. In 2003 she wrote:

A search for the name ‘Black’ throws up many entries, listed as ‘aliens’, who could well have been black peoples. These include Martin Blacke and his wife Anne, John Blacke and Steephon Blacke, all in Lambeth.¹⁰⁷

This sort of historical ‘positive discrimination’ is difficult to credit. Each reference needs to be considered on its merits and in its original context; but a surname alone cannot confirm a person’s ethnicity. Indeed some Africans had the surname ‘White’.¹⁰⁸ Many of Habib’s references are drawn from the International Genealogical Index [IGI], which, as C.R. Humphery Smith reminds us, like all indexes should not be regarded as a primary source.¹⁰⁹ As the IGI was designed by the Mormons for genealogical research, it is only searchable by surname, and so it cannot be used effectively to identify Africans in parish registers. Many Africans did not have surnames, while surnames like ‘Blakemore’, or even ‘Negro’, cannot be taken as certain indicators of African identity, unless they are accompanied by an ethnic descriptor. Thus Cornelius Blacke, Reasonabel Blackman, Mary Blackmore, Peter Blackmore, John Blacknege, Ferdinando Negro and Edward Swarthy alias Negro, are all explicitly described as ‘Moors’, ‘blackmoors’ or ‘negros’.

Habib writes that “‘blackman’ is probably a black person, since that is what “Resonable”

¹⁰⁶ Habib, *Black Lives*, p.17.

¹⁰⁷ Sherwood, ‘Blacks in Tudor England’, p.40.

¹⁰⁸ Such as ‘Phillip White alias Haumath’, and John Blanke (blanco=white): Appendix, Baptisms, no.41 and Household Accounts, nos.72, 84, 84, 88.

¹⁰⁹ *Phillimore Atlas and Index of Parish Registers*, ed. C.R. Humphery-Smith (1995), Introduction; International Genealogical Index, [<http://www.familysearch.org>, accessed 2 April 2008].

is called and he is also described as “blackamor”¹¹⁰. In fact it is because Reasonabel is also described as a ‘blackamoor’ that we can securely identify him as black. His surname alone does not suffice, and the many other examples of individuals with the surname ‘Blackman’, such as ‘Margeria Blackman’, baptized at St. Martin in the Fields, Westminster in 1595, cannot be assumed to be African.¹¹¹ The names ‘Black’, ‘Blackman’, ‘Moor’ and ‘Morris’ are all old English surnames, and though their meanings sometimes originated in references to a dark complexion, from the Old English *blæc* or the Latin *maurus*, this does not necessarily apply by the 16th century. Thus one Wilfred Niger (c.1080) was nicknamed Niger or ‘the Black’ after painting his face with charcoal in order to go unrecognized amongst his enemies at night.¹¹² The names could also refer to dark hair (Black), or to someone who came from a place called Moore (e.g. in Cheshire) or More (in Shropshire), or from Blackmore (Essex), Blackmoor (Hampshire, Avon, Somerset), or Blakemere (Herefordshire), or who lived in or near a moor.¹¹³ Likewise, the Scottish surnames ‘Muir, Mure, Moor, Moore, Moore, More’, are thought to refer to ancient ‘residence beside a moor or heath’.¹¹⁴ Most importantly, as William Camden noted in 1586, ‘surnames began to be taken up...in England about the time of the Conquest, or else a very little before’.¹¹⁵ A man called More in 1600 could theoretically have had a Moorish ancestor from 450 years before, but this possibility is too nebulous to confirm.

¹¹⁰ Habib Index, no. 180n.

¹¹¹ Habib Index, no. 203. Also nos. 180, 220, 221, 234, 241, 273, 274, 275, 303, 307, 311, 313, 317, 318, 343, 350, 353.

¹¹² P.H. Reaney, *A Dictionary of English Surnames* (3rd edition, 2005), p. 46.

¹¹³ C.W.E. Bardsley, *English Surnames: their Sources and Significations* (1969), pp. 125, 161, 444; P.H. Reaney, *A Dictionary of British Surnames* (1958), p. 34; P. Hanks and F. Hodges, *A Dictionary of Surnames* (1988), pp. 54, 374; R.A. McKinley, *A History of British surnames* (1990), pp. 11, 156-7; Reaney, *A Dictionary of English Surnames*, pp. 46-7, 313.

¹¹⁴ G.F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland* (New York, 1946), p. 617.

¹¹⁵ W. Camden, *Remaines concerning Brittain*, ed. R.D. Dunn (Toronto, 1984), p. 92.

‘Blacke’ continued to be a nickname. Thus we find ‘Thomas Blacke, ‘called Black Tom’, buried in St. Margaret’s Westminster in 1594, ‘Alice daughter of blacke Henricus’ buried at St. Mary, Walton-on-the-Hill, Liverpool in December 1592, and ‘Henry the sone of black Thomas’ buried in Madron Cornwall in 1611.¹¹⁶ ‘Black Tom’ was also the nickname of Sir Thomas Fairfax, Thomas Butler, 10th Earl of Ormond, and of Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford.¹¹⁷ It was therefore a reference to dark hair or a swarthy complexion, and cannot be taken as evidence of African origin. This makes the identification of ‘Black Joan’ of Putney as an African by Dorian Gerhold at least questionable.¹¹⁸

The surname ‘Negro’ and its variants are more problematic. This was not a traditional English surname. However, the word ‘negro’ meant ‘black’ in several European languages, and so had developed as a surname in Italy, Spain and Portugal, in a similar way to ‘Black’ in England. The main difference was that there were more dark-skinned people in these Mediterranean countries in medieval times than in the British Isles. Therefore, during the period when surnames became fixed, the surname ‘Negro’ could have been given to people with darker skin, as well as to those with dark hair. There were individuals with names such as ‘Pedro Nigro’, ‘Juan Negro’ and ‘Domingo Negro’ in

¹¹⁶ *Memorials of St. Margaret’s Church, Westminster: The Parish Registers 1539-1660*, ed. A.M. Burke (1914), p. 468; Liverpool Record Office, St Mary, Walton-on-the-Hill: 283 SMW/1; Cornwall Record Office, P133/1/1.

¹¹⁷ A. Hopper, ‘Black Tom’: *Sir Thomas Fairfax and the English Revolution* (2007); R.G. Asch, ‘Wentworth, Thomas, first earl of Strafford (1593–1641)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29056>, accessed 18 March 2008]; R. Turvey, ‘Perrot, Sir John (1528–1592)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21986>, accessed 18 March 2008].

¹¹⁸ D. Gerhold, ‘Black People in 17th and 18th Century Putney’, *Black and Asian Studies Association Newsletter*, 37 (2003), p.22; Habib Index, no. 326.

Spain in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, ‘Pedro Martinez de Marruecos’, seems more likely to have been African, as his surname suggests he was from Morocco.¹¹⁹ In Italy, there is no evidence of the well-known Protestant writer Francesco Negri having an African background. In fact, his real name was Buonamonte and he adopted Negri only after leaving Italy in the 1520s.¹²⁰ Besides, in Europe as in Britain, a putative dark-skinned ancestor of 400 years before is not strong enough confirmation of the ethnicity of an individual appearing in the sixteenth century. Some European individuals with the name ‘Negro’ appear in the English records. John Antony de Negro, a ‘merchant of Venice’ leased a house in the parish of St. Dionis, Backchurch, London from William Estrich, haberdasher and John Dymock, draper in 1533.¹²¹ He may have been of the Negro family of Genoese descent which Gustav Ungerer tells us settled in Spain and Portugal in the 15th century.¹²² Habib suggests that ‘Charles Negroe Duch Scholemr’ living in Aldersgate in 1583 was black, but the record describes him as Dutch.¹²³ Where no evidence of the person’s origin is available, we must assess the likelihood of their coming from Africa. ‘Fraunces Negro’, listed as working in the Queen’s stables in 1527, could theoretically have dark skin, given the European-wide trend of having black African grooms. However, given that the Queen in question was

¹¹⁹ E. De Felice, *Dizionario dei Cognomi Italiani* (Milan, 1978), pp. 176-7; G. Diez Melcon, *Appellidos Castellano-leoneses* (Granada, 1957), pp. 247,267; G de. J. C. Alvarez, *Toponimos en Apellidos Hispanos* (New York, 1968), pp. 365-366; M. de Sousa, *As Origens dos Apelidos das Famílias Portuguesas* (Mems-Martins, Portugal, 2002), pp. 183-4; R. F. M. Guérios, *Dicionario Etimologico de Nomes e Sobrenomes* (São Paulo, 1973), p. 164.

¹²⁰ ‘Negri, Francesco (proprium. F. Buonamonte)’ *Enciclopedia Italiana* [<http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-negri/>, accessed 19 September 2011]; L. Ragazzini, ‘Biographical essay’ in *Bibliotheca dissidentium*, 25 (2006), pp. 71-144.

¹²¹ *London viewers and their certificates, 1508-1558: Certificates of the sworn viewers of the City of London*, ed. J. Senderowitz Loengard (London Record Soc., XXVI, 1989), p. 43, no. 103.

¹²² G. Ungerer, ‘Recovering a Black African's Voice in an English Lawsuit: Jacques Francis and the Salvage Operations of the Mary Rose and the Sancta Maria and Sanctus Edwardus, 1545-ca 1550’, *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 17 (Madison, NJ, 2005), p. 267, n. 4; de Sousa, *As Origens dos Apelidos das Famílias Portuguesas*, p. 183.

¹²³ Habib Index, no. 153; *Returns of Aliens*, II, 333.

Katherine of Aragon, he could equally be Spanish.¹²⁴ ‘Dyego Negro servant with Thomas Bowyer’, was assessed as a stranger in the parish of St. Mary Woolnorth, London, paying a tax of 4d in 1541.¹²⁵ His first name suggests an Iberian connection, and his position of servant to the wealthy grocer and citizen Bowyer, whose cousin Francis Bowyer was a prominent merchant trading to Spain and involved in the Muscovy, Moroccan and Guinea ventures of the 1550s, increases the likelihood of him being a black man, but he could just as easily be Spanish. Habib lists an individual named ‘Francisco Vynegre’ as a potential black man.¹²⁶ However it seems unlikely that the name ‘Vynegre’ represented African ancestry, as this was merely a variant spelling of ‘vinegar’. The foreign merchant, Gregory Negro of All Hallows, Staynyngs, in 1581, may be the ‘Gregori Negrone’ whose daughter Constant Negrone was baptized at St. Dionis Backchurch on 3 July 1577.¹²⁷ ‘Negroni’ was an Italian surname, and the presence of an Italian merchant in London seems plausible.¹²⁸ By contrast, ‘Richard nigroe’, baptised at St Mary Lancaster 1 November 1602, and ‘Mary Negro’ baptized on 15 December 1607 at Hedgerley in Buckinghamshire, seem more likely to be of African origin, as foreign merchants would be unlikely to travel to either location.¹²⁹ The highest profile case of a man identified as black purely due to having the surname ‘Negro’ is that of Sir Pedro Negro, a mercenary soldier knighted by Protector Somerset in 1547. None of the many records that mention him ever describe him as African, though several identify him as a

¹²⁴ *Returns of Aliens*, III, 301; Habib Index, no. 98.

¹²⁵ *Returns of Aliens*, I, 46; Habib Index, no. 100.

¹²⁶ Habib Index, no.98; *Returns of Aliens*, I, 2.

¹²⁷ *Returns of Aliens*, II, 220; Habib Index, no. 141.

¹²⁸ De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi italiani*, p. 176.

¹²⁹ Habib Index, nos. 251 and 270. These are taken from the IGI. I have not been able to verify the originals and so have not included these in my Appendix.

Spaniard.¹³⁰ Despite this, he is given prominence in the ‘Chronology’ of the *Oxford Companion to Black British History* as ‘perhaps the first African to receive an English knighthood’.¹³¹

One further potential source of confusion should be highlighted here. References to ‘Egyptians’, such as ‘Anthoine an Egyptian’, buried in Gravesend on 26 May 1553, or ‘Batholomew the sonne of an Egiption’ baptized in Barnstaple in August 1568, cannot be taken as evidence of individuals who came from Egypt.¹³² The people referred to as Egyptians at this time were ‘gypsies’, or Romany people, of Hindu origin. A Parliamentary Act of 1530 concerning Egyptians explained that:

before this tyme divers and many owtländisshe people calling themselves Egipsions using no craft nor faict of merchandise, have comen in to thys realme and goon from Shyre to Shyre and place to place in grete companye and used grete subtile and craftye meanys to deceyve the people bearing them in hande that they by palmestrye could tell menne and Womens Fortunes and soo many Tymes by craft and subiltie hath deceyved the people of theyr Money & alsoo have comitted many haynous Felonyes and Robberyes to the grete hurt and Disceipt of the people that they have comyn among.¹³³

Further Acts concerning ‘Egyptians’ were passed in 1552, 1554, and 1562. They were to be banished, their goods forfeited. By 1562, this was somewhat modified by the ruling that those born in England were to be placed in service.¹³⁴ However, these people did not come from Egypt, and this was recognized by at least one contemporary writer. Thomas Dekker wrote in *Lantern and Candlelight* (1608): ‘If they be Egyptians, sure I am they

¹³⁰ M. Kaufmann, ‘Sir Pedro Negro: what colour was his skin?’, *Notes and Queries*, 253, no. 2 (June 2008), pp. 142-146; Chapter 3, pp. 165-6.

¹³¹ *The Oxford Companion to Black British History*, ed. D. Dabydeen, J. Gilmore and C. Jones (Oxford, 2005), p. 537.

¹³² Habib Index, no. 122; Kent Family History Society Microfiche RP92; DRO MFC 46/6 (23 August 1568)

¹³³ House of Lords Record Office, HL/PO/PU/1/1530/22H8n9

¹³⁴ A.L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560-1640* (1985), pp. 58-62.

never descended from the tribes of any of those people that came out of Egypt. Ptolomy, King of the Egyptians, I warrant never called them his subjects; no nor Pharoah before him'.¹³⁵

When an individual really is of African origin, the records are not slow to report or comment on it. It is only when an individual is described as 'a/the blackamore', 'a/the negro', or we are told where they come from or were born that we can be completely sure of their identities. Furthermore, to treat all references equally invalidates the entire exercise. Including uncertain references puts the certain ones in doubt. There is enough secure material to work with, without having to rely on conjecture.

The terms used to describe Africans in early modern Britain

Previous discussions of terms used to describe Africans in early modern England have focused on the way they were used in dramatic works and travel literature.¹³⁶ Here, I will examine the terms used to describe real African individuals present in Britain. This is important partly in helping to identify Africans in early modern sources, but also because the terms used to describe people tell us something of how those people were perceived.

The oldest words in English used to describe Africans were derived from Latin and Greek. The English 'Moor' was from the Greek 'μαυρος', and 'Ethiop' was an Anglicization of the Latin 'Aethiopus'. The Latin for black, 'Niger' was used to describe a man named Thomas Bull in Eydon Northamptonshire in 1545, and the term, in variant

¹³⁵ D. Mayall. *Gypsy Identities, 1500-2000: From Egipcyans and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany* (2004) pp. 67-8.

¹³⁶ e.g. Barthelemy, *Black Face, Maligned Race*, pp. 1-17.

spellings, such as ‘negar’, ‘nigor’, and ‘neyger’ continued to be used throughout the following century.¹³⁷ Some parish registers were still written in Latin at this time and still used these terms. The phrase ‘niger Maurus’ which was used to describe a man named Francis in a Westminster register in 1621 seems to have been a deliberate Latinizing of the term ‘black Moor’ which was coined in the course of the sixteenth century, appearing in a Scottish manuscript as early as 1507, and an English printed text in 1542.¹³⁸ As the English began their ventures into the Atlantic world, they encountered and adopted the words ‘negro’ and ‘mulatto’, from the Spanish, Portuguese and Italian. In fact the first uses of the word ‘negro’ in printed texts are to be found in English translations of foreign works, such as Richard Eden’s 1555 translation of Peter Martyr de Anghiera’s *The Decades of the New World*, and Nicholas Lichfield’s 1582 translation of Castanheda’s *Historie of the discoverie and conquest of the East Indias* and in early voyage accounts, such as Robert Baker’s account of his voyage to Guinea in 1568-9.¹³⁹ The Scots seem not to have been so influenced by these foreign words: all African individuals in the Scottish records are described as ‘moirs’ [variant spellings] or ‘blak moirs’. By the mid sixteenth century then, a variety of terms were available to describe Africans. How then were they used?

One hundred and fifty pieces of evidence, just under 40% of the material cited in the Appendix, do not record Africans by name. They were referred to merely by an ethnic description, such as ‘a blackamoore’ or ‘the Moor’. In their cases, the question of the

¹³⁷ Thomas Bull: Appendix, Burials, no. 1.

¹³⁸ Appendix, Burials, no. 80.

¹³⁹ P. Martire d’ Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo. Decade 1-3*, tr. R. Eden (London, 1555); F. Lopes de Castanheda, *The First Booke of the Historie of the Discoverie and Conquest of the East Indias, Enterprised by the Portingales*, tr. N. Lichfield (1582); R. Baker, *Travails in Guinea: Robert Baker’s ‘Breve dyscourse’* (? 1568), ed. P.E.H. Hair (Liverpool, 1990).

significance of these terms is doubly important. The named majority were also described in such terms, alongside their names. Of the 255 with names, 121 have surnames. What can we learn about these individuals from the ways in which they are named and described in the early modern records? What was the significance of the various ethnic terms?

Ethiop

‘Ethiop’ is thought to literally translate from Greek as ‘burnt-face’.¹⁴⁰ The word had been used in England since at least 1382, when Wyclif’s bible rendered Jeremiah 13:23 as ‘Yf change mai an Ethiopie his skyn’.¹⁴¹ In 1550 William Thomas, in his Italian grammar defined ‘Ethiopo’ as ‘a blacke Moore, or man of Ethiope’.¹⁴² Although Richard Eden glossed ‘Ethiopes’ in 1555 as those people ‘which we nowe caule Moores, Moorens or Negroes’, the term, or its Latin equivalent ‘Aethiop’ was still occasionally used to describe Africans in England.¹⁴³ I have found six examples of this in the archives.¹⁴⁴ The earliest was Gylman Ivie, who was described as a ‘negro’ at his baptism in 1575, but in later entries in the register relating to his children, he is described as ‘aethiopsis’.¹⁴⁵ In 1586, ‘Maria Mandula advena et aethiops (stranger and Æthiops)’ was buried in Calne, Wiltshire.¹⁴⁶ Hector Nunes described an individual as an ‘Ethiopian Negar’ to the Court

¹⁴⁰ ‘Ethiop, n and a’, *OED* [<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50078486>, accessed 25 April 2007]

¹⁴¹ J. Wyclif, *The Holy Bible, made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers 1382,1388*, ed. J. Forshall and Sir F. Madden (4 vols., 1850), III, 374; Jer. xiii. 23.

¹⁴² W. Thomas, *Principal Rvles of the Italian Grammer: with a Dictionarie for the Better Understandyng of Boccacce, Pethrarcha and Dante* (1550), M2r.

¹⁴³ R. Eden, *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India* (1555), f. 355. Richard Madox described two Africans onboard the *Galleon Leicester* in 1582 as ‘Æthiopiens’. See Chapter 1, p. 105.

¹⁴⁴ The reference to ‘Susan ethuop’, who was married on 16 January 1601 at Hemel Hempstead in Hertfordshire, which Imtiaz Habib found on the IGI database (Habib Index, no. 240), may be another example of this.

¹⁴⁵ Appendix, Baptisms, nos. 5,6; Burials, no. 4.

¹⁴⁶ Appendix, Burials, no. 9.

of Requests in 1587.¹⁴⁷ In 1626 ‘Aethiopus quidam’ or ‘a certain Ethiopian’ was buried at Ashburton in Devon.¹⁴⁸ In 1634, Sarah Maria ‘Ethiopissa’ was baptized at St Martin’s in the Fields, Westminster.¹⁴⁹ The term ‘Ethiopissa’ was clearly a feminized variant, as used by Wyclif: ‘the Ethopis his wif’ and Walter Raleigh: ‘Josephus his tale of an AEthiopesse, wife to Moses’.¹⁵⁰ In this period, an Ethiopian was not a native of a defined geographically known country named Ethiopia. When George Best reported in 1578 that ‘I myself have seene an Ethiopian as blacke as cole brought to England’, he was more likely to be describing a native of Guinea.¹⁵¹ The sixteenth century geographical conception of Ethiopia was vague and amorphous. In 1598, William Phillip’s translation of Linschoten described Guinea as ‘lying in Ethiopia, or the Moores country’, using Ethiopia as a label for all Africa beyond ‘Barbaria’, ‘Numidia’ and ‘Libia’.¹⁵² In 1600, John Pory located Elmina Castle (in modern-day Ghana) in ‘Ethiopia’.¹⁵³ In 1614, Walter Raleigh wrote that Egypt adjoined ‘AEthiopia or the land of the Black-Moores’.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, when an African is described as an Ethiopian, we are left little the wiser as to his precise geographical origin.

Negar

The term ‘Negar’ (or neger, neiger, neyger, niger, niggar, nigor, nygor) was used to describe Africans in 24 records between 1545 and 1640. It seems to have developed from

¹⁴⁷ Appendix, Court Records, no. 10.

¹⁴⁸ Appendix, Burials, no. 86.

¹⁴⁹ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 60.

¹⁵⁰ Wyclif, *The Holy Bible*, Num. xii.1; W. Raleigh, *The History of the World* (1614), p. 149.

¹⁵¹ Hakluyt, VII, 262.

¹⁵² J. Huygen van Linschoten, *Discours of Voyages into ye East & West Indies*, tr. W. Phillip (1598), p. 197; See also Sir John Mandeville, *Mandeville’s Travels*, ed. M.C. Seymour (Oxford, 1967), p. 114.

¹⁵³ Leo Africanus, III, 1064.

¹⁵⁴ Raleigh, *The History of the World*, p. 151.

the Latin ‘niger’ meaning black, and this spelling was used in London as late as 1621.¹⁵⁵ There is only one example of the rare double ‘g’, ‘niggar’ in my sources.¹⁵⁶ It was used to describe a man named John, buried at St. Stephen’s, Bristol in January 1599.¹⁵⁷ ‘Negar’ was the predominant term deployed in the Barnstaple parish register to describe Africans. Seven of the eight entries recording Africans there between 1596 and 1607 use variants of the term. This may have been an idiosyncrasy of the clerk at that time, as Anthony, who was baptized in the same church in 1565, was described as a ‘blackemore’.¹⁵⁸

Moor

A key question is whether early modern Britons differentiated between North Africans and sub-Saharan Africans. Part of the answer lies in the way in which they deployed the term ‘Moor’. Nabil Matar has complained about the ‘imprecision with which North African Muslims and sub-Saharan Africans have been conflated and identified’ by scholars.¹⁵⁹ However this imprecision in the scholarship reflects the imprecision with which Africans were identified in early modern sources. Matar treats all references to ‘Moors’ as if they are certainly North Africans.¹⁶⁰ The word ‘Moor’ derived from the Latin ‘Maurus’, which specifically referred to the predominantly light-skinned inhabitants of the ancient province of Mauretania in North Africa. However, by the sixteenth century, the term suggested dark skin. As early as 1489 in fact, Caxton wrote

¹⁵⁵ Appendix, Burials, no. 80. See also Marriages, nos. 1-3.

¹⁵⁶ The double ‘g’ form was rare before the 19th century. See ‘nigger, n. and adj.’, *OED* [<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/126934>, accessed 12 August 2011]

¹⁵⁷ Appendix, Burials, no. 45.

¹⁵⁸ Appendix, Baptisms, nos. 16, 19, 28, 29, 33, Burials nos. 39, 56, 58.

¹⁵⁹ Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p. 6.

¹⁶⁰ See Introduction, p. 14.

‘He was soo angry for it, that he became as blacke as a Moure.’¹⁶¹ The popular *Mandeville’s Travels* told readers that ‘the folk of that contree [Moretane] ben blake ... and thei ben clept Mowres.’¹⁶² In 1550 William Thomas, in his Italian grammar, defined the Italian ‘Moro’ as ‘a Moore or blacke man’: as if the two were synonymous.¹⁶³ Shakespeare designated Othello, and Aaron in *Titus Andronicus*, as ‘Moors’, but references in the text to Othello’s ‘sooty bosom’ and Aaron’s ‘coal-black’ visage make it clear that they were both conceived as black men.¹⁶⁴ A brief glance at Henry Peacham’s drawing of a staging of *Titus Andronicus* further confirms that Aaron was played as a black man.¹⁶⁵ Without further qualification, the term ‘moor’ seems to have signified black skin.¹⁶⁶

To describe a light-skinned African it was therefore necessary to qualify ‘moor’ with the description ‘white’ or tawny’. Thus Andrew Boorde, a doctor who had travelled extensively in Europe, and as far as Jerusalem, wrote in a comic medical treatise dedicated to Princess Mary in 1542: ‘the inhabitours [of Barbary] be called y Mores, ther

¹⁶¹ *The Foure Sonnes of Aymon*, tr. W. Caxton (Early English Text Soc., XXVI, 1884), 565.

¹⁶² *Mandeville’s Travels*, ed. M.C. Seymour, (1967), p. 114. *Mandeville’s Travels* was written in 1356. Four English editions appeared 1496-1510, Thomas East reprinted it in 1568 and 1582, Hakluyt included the Latin text in his 1589 edition, and it was widely read and credited. In 1598 John Stow wrote in the margin of Norden’s *Description of Hertfordshire* of ‘Sir John Mandeville...whose travayles in forraine regions and rare reports are at this time admired throughout the world.’ Thus it is justifiable to use him as a source for ideas current in the 16th and 17th century. See J.W. Bennett, *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville*, (New York, 1954), pp. 230-247.

¹⁶³ Thomas, *Principal Rvles of the Italian Grammer*, X2r.

¹⁶⁴ *Othello*, I. ii.70; *Titus Andronicus*, IV. ii.103; Introduction, p.6.

¹⁶⁵ Schlueter, ‘Rereading the Peacham Drawing’, pp. 171-184.

¹⁶⁶ This is Eldred Jones’ conclusion in his ‘Racial Terms for Africans in Elizabethan Usage’, *Review of National Literatures*, III, 2 (1972), p.85. See also Wayne B. Chandler, ‘The Moor: Light of Europe’s Dark Age’ in the African Presence in Early Europe, special issue of the *Journal of African Civilisations*, 7 (1985), pp.144-175. G.K. Hunter concluded in 1967 that the term ‘Moor’ had ‘no clear racial status’. G.K. Hunter, ‘Othello and Colour Prejudice’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 53 (1967), p. 147.

be white Mores and black moors...'¹⁶⁷ John Pory translated Leo Africanus's 'Affricani bianchi' as 'tawnie Moores'.¹⁶⁸ This suggests that the idea of a 'tawny Moor' had some currency in England, while the concept of a 'white African' did not. The Prince of Morocco in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* is described as a 'tawnie Moore'.¹⁶⁹ Cleopatra is described as having a 'tawny front'.¹⁷⁰ Eldred Jones argues that the expression 'tawny Moor' had the definite meaning of a light skinned North African.¹⁷¹ However, there is only one woman described using this phrase in my sources, Anne Cobbie, a 'tawny Moore' living in Westminster in 1626.¹⁷² None of my sources describe anyone as a 'white moor'.

Moor also had a secondary, associated, but less commonly used, meaning of Muslim. John Pory describes the inhabitants of Adea, North East Africa, as 'being Moores by religion'.¹⁷³ This religious meaning is confirmed in other works: Thomas Hickock's 1588 translation of a voyage account clarifies that 'whereas I speak of Moors I meane Mahomets sect';¹⁷⁴ and in 1607 Edward Topsell wrote 'I have heard a story of an Englishman in Barbary which turned Moor'.¹⁷⁵

The term 'Moor' (or more, mor, mour, moren, meir, moore, morian, Mauri) was used to describe Africans 93 times in the sources I have identified. Seventy-nine of these were

¹⁶⁷ A. Boorde, *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, ed. F.J. Furnivall (1870), p. 212; E. Lane Furdell, 'Boorde, Andrew (c.1490–1549)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2870>, accessed 16 June 2008]

¹⁶⁸ Leo Africanus, I, 205, n.13.

¹⁶⁹ *The Merchant of Venice*, II.i.1.

¹⁷⁰ *Antony and Cleopatra*, I.i. 4-6.

¹⁷¹ Jones, 'Racial Terms for Africans in Elizabethan Usage', p. 59.

¹⁷² Appendix, Court Records, no. 30.

¹⁷³ Leo Africanus, I, 53.

¹⁷⁴ C. Federici, *The Voyage and Trauaile: of M. Cæsar Frederick,... into the East India, the Indies and Beyond the Indies. Out of Ital. by T.H.* (1588), p. 23.

¹⁷⁵ E. Topsell, *The Historie of Foure-footed Beastes, with Narrations out of Scriptures [&c.]* (1607), p. 402.

from Scottish records, where ‘Mor’ was the dominant term used to describe Africans. In the *Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, ‘Mor(e), Moir, also Moyr, Morre, Mour, Moore, Meir’ is defined: ‘Chiefly taken as a synonym for Blak-more ‘blackamoor’, hence= negro’.¹⁷⁶

When an individual’s national identity was being described, the term ‘barbarian’ was more likely to convey a light skinned North African than the term ‘moor’. It was used by John Chamberlain when writing to Dudley Carleton of the Moroccan embassy in 1600: ‘The Barbarians take theyre leave sometime this week, to goe homeward’.¹⁷⁷ The term is only used to describe three of the individuals I have identified: Lambert Waterson, a ‘Barbaryen’ resident in London in 1568; ‘a poore Barbarian w[hi]ch had binne robbed at sea’ who was succoured by the Churchwardens of St Michael Cornhill in 1602 and Philip White alias Haumath, a ‘Barbarian Moore’ baptized in Bristol in 1619.¹⁷⁸ However in these cases, we can be fairly sure that the term ‘barbarian’ was meant to signify that they were from ‘Barbary’, which referred to the Ottoman regencies of Libya (Tripolitania), Tunisia, and Algeria, and the kingdom of Morocco.¹⁷⁹

Mary Phillis of Morisco, who arrived in London around 1585, was the daughter of a ‘Moroccan basket-weaver’. However she was not described as a ‘barbarian’, a ‘moor’ or a ‘Moroccan’, but as a ‘blackmore’.¹⁸⁰ Conversely, the ‘moore’ that Sir Arthur

¹⁷⁶ *The Dictionary of the Scots Language* [<http://www.dsl.ac.uk>, accessed 14 June 2008]

¹⁷⁷ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, nos. 13,14.

¹⁷⁸ Appendix, Tax Returns, no. 3; Church and Municipal Accounts, no. 5.; Baptisms, no. 41.

¹⁷⁹ Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 3.

¹⁸⁰ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 18.

Throckmorton took into his service in 1589 was ‘from Guinea’.¹⁸¹ Cases like these make it impossible to assert that each of the twenty seven individuals described as ‘Moors’ were light skinned north Africans.

Blackamoor

William Dunbar’s 1507 poem ‘Ane Blak Moir’ is the first known British text to use the expression ‘black moor’.¹⁸² The friars who visited the Scottish court in 1508, and Helenor, a woman at the court in 1527, are also described as ‘blak moirs’.¹⁸³ The first known use in a printed text was in Andrew Boorde’s description of Barbary, in which he included a comic verse which began: ‘I am a blake More borne in Barbary’.¹⁸⁴ The first instance of the addition of the ‘a’, making black moor ‘black-a-moor’, that I know of was in 1565, when a man named ‘Jhon’ was described as such in the St. Mary Aldermanbury parish register.¹⁸⁵ However, the two variants, and others (blackamoor, blackamore, blackamoore, blackmoor, blackmore, blakemore, blackemore, blak moir etc) were used with equal frequency over the following century. ‘Blackamoor’ or its variants, was also the most popular term deployed by Englishmen to describe Africans. I have found it used in 158, or 40%, of cases. There was no feminine form, and the term ‘blackamoore’ was used equally to describe a man or a woman. In a third of cases, ‘blackamoor’ or its variants is used to describe women, with only five being qualified with a specific gender descriptions in 1589, 1606, 1609, 1611 and 1640: ‘blackmore wench’, ‘blackamore gerl’,

¹⁸¹ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 7.

¹⁸² *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. Bawcutt, p. 113.

¹⁸³ See Appendix, Household Records, nos. 78, 94 and Chapter 3, pp. 193, 204-5.

¹⁸⁴ Boorde, *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, ed. Furnivall, p. 212.

¹⁸⁵ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 1, Burials, no. 2; John Bale had used ‘blackamorian’ in 1563. J. Bale, *The Select Works of John Bale*, ed. H.Christmas (Parker Society, 1849), p. 177.

‘Blackamoore mayd’, ‘blackamore woman’ and ‘blackamoore maid’.¹⁸⁶ Thus, in the twenty five cases where individuals are described purely as ‘a/the blackamoor’, with no name or further description, we cannot be sure of their gender.

Negro

The term ‘negro’ was a new word to the English in the sixteenth century, acquired from the Spanish, Portuguese and Italian word, meaning ‘black’, and specifically applied to black Africans from the fifteenth century. I have found no instances of the term ‘negro’ being employed in Scotland. The first recorded usage in an English text is from 1555, in Richard Eden’s translation of Peter Matryr’s *Decades of the new World*, where he uses it to describe the inhabitants of ‘the coast of Guinea and the mydde partes of Africa’.¹⁸⁷

‘Negro’ was the dominant term used to describe Africans in the voyage accounts published by Richard Hakluyt in 1589 and 1598-1600.¹⁸⁸ ‘Negro’ (or negro, nigro, negra) was used to describe 47 of the African individuals I have identified in England, the earliest being Gylman Ivey, who was described as such in the Dyrham parish register of 1575.¹⁸⁹ Although the female form ‘negra’ was employed in nine cases, ‘negro’ was also used to describe women, as was the case in eighteen examples ranging from 1586 to 1627. In one case in Bristol in 1612, a woman named Katherine was described as a ‘blacke negra’, which seems to demonstrate some uneasiness with the foreign word ‘negra’.¹⁹⁰ This is supported by the fact that none of the other Africans in Bristol were described as ‘negroes’ or ‘negras’, so the term was still unfamiliar there.

¹⁸⁶ Appendix, Baptisms, nos. 30, 68, Burials, nos. 16, 60, 62.

¹⁸⁷ Eden, *The Decades of the New World*, f. 355.

¹⁸⁸ E.C. Bartels, ‘Imperialist Beginnings: Richard Hakluyt and the Construction of Africa’, *Criticism*, 34 (1992), pp. 517-38.

¹⁸⁹ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 3.

¹⁹⁰ Appendix, Burials, no. 63.

‘Mulatto’

Another adopted word was ‘mulato’, which had been used in Portuguese to denote a person of mixed race since 1515, and in Spanish since 1588.¹⁹¹ It could also refer to someone whose complexion was of the same colour as a person of mixed race, which was the sense in which it was first deployed by an Englishman. In 1591, Job Hortop recalled discovering ‘a monster in the sea’ on his voyage with Hawkins in 1568, that was ‘of the complection of a Mulliato, or tawny Indian.’¹⁹² In 1597, Abraham Hartwell’s translation of Pigafetta’s *A Report of the Kingdome of Congo* used the term ‘mulatto’ in both senses, firstly in a discussion of ‘whether the children which are begotten by Portugalles, being of a white skinne, and borne in those countries by the women of Congo, bee black or white, or tawny like a wilde olive, whom the Portugals call Mulati’.¹⁹³ Later he describes the colour of native West Indians as ‘almost white, that is to say, of a middle colour, between white and blacke, which the Spaniards call Mulato, Browne, or Darke-Tawney’, and the people of Mozambique are described as ‘of the colour which the *Spaniardes* call *Mulato*, betweene blacke and white.’¹⁹⁴ In 1599, Richard Perceval and John Minsheu in their Spanish dictionary, translated ‘Muláto’ as ‘the sonne of a black Moore, and one of another nation’, and Mulata as ‘the daughter of a blackmoore, and one of another nation’.¹⁹⁵ I have found four individuals present in England explicitly described as ‘mulattos’. The first was Pedro Fernandez, a ‘mulato’ in Dom Antonio’s household in

¹⁹¹ ‘mulatto, n. and adj.’, *OED* [<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/123402>, accessed 12 August 2011]

¹⁹² J. Hortop, *The Trauailes of an Englishman* (1591) p. 26; above, p. 46.

¹⁹³ P. Pigafetta, *A Report of the Kingdome of Congo Drawen Out of the Writings and Discourses of O. Lopez*, tr. A. Hartwell (London, 1597), p. 18.

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 173, 200.

¹⁹⁵ *Lexicons of Early Modern English*, ed. Ian Lancashire (Toronto, 2006).

[<http://leme.library.utoronto.ca/lexicon/entry.cfm?ent=237-18395>, accessed 20 September 2011]

1586.¹⁹⁶ However, the term was employed here by a Portuguese speaker, and so is not evidence of English usage. The term soon passed into English usage however, as an anonymous ‘molato’ was buried in Plymouth in 1595, Frances a ‘Mulatto’ was buried in Gravesend in 1603 and in 1620 ‘John P Daniells, a Mullatow’ was buried at St. George the Martyr, London.¹⁹⁷ In these cases, the clerks writing the records in these port towns were comfortable with the term, and it required no further elaboration. However, it was not used to describe any of the children of mixed race born in England, even in one 1594 case where the father was thought to have been from Portugal, and so the term was not widely adopted and deployed in England.¹⁹⁸

Morisco

Two individuals are described as ‘moriscos’ in my sources. One was Jacques Frances, described by an Italian in 1548 as ‘a morisco born where they are not christened’.¹⁹⁹ The other was ‘Robert Tego, a Morisco, servant with Thomas Castlyn’, who was living in London in 1567.²⁰⁰ Both of these examples seem to convey the Spanish meaning, of a Moorish convert to Christianity. In the first, although we know that Jacques Frances was born in the ‘Insula de Guinea’, that he was ‘born where they are not christened’ seems to suggest, along with his ‘Christian’ name that he may have been baptised subsequently. In the second case, ‘Castlyn’ suggests ‘Castilian’, and so Tego may be a Moorish convert to Christianity from Spain. Morisco was also used as a place name, as in the case of ‘Mary

¹⁹⁶ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 108.

¹⁹⁷ Appendix, Church and Municipal Accounts, nos. 1-2, Burials, nos. 48, 77.

¹⁹⁸ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 12.

¹⁹⁹ Appendix, Court Records, no. 2.

²⁰⁰ Appendix, Tax Returns, no. 2.

Philis of Morisco’, baptised in London in 1597.²⁰¹ It had been used in this way by Thomas Elyot in his *Book named the Gouvernour* in 1531: ‘Noble Romanes, whan they were in Numidia, Libia, & suche other countrayes, which nowe be called Barbary & Morisco, in the vacation season from warres ... hunted lions, liberdes, & suche other bestis.’²⁰²

Conflation

The terms discussed above were often used interchangeably. The most high profile example was amongst Elizabeth I’s courtiers. On 30 July 1581, Leicester wrote to Walsingham in France: ‘she [Elizabeth] willed me to say thus unto you that as she doth know her Moor cannot change his colour, no more shall it be found that she will alter her old wont, which is always to hold both eyes and ears open for her good servants.’²⁰³

Walsingham replied in September: ‘the lawes of Ethiopia my native soyle are verie severe against those that condemne a person unheard ... I should then be worthie to receave the most sharpe punishment that either the Ethiopian severitie or Dracus lawes can yeilde’²⁰⁴ It was clearly not thought contradictory for a Moor to have Ethiopia as his native soil. The origin of the nickname ‘the Moor’ is unknown, but it seems to signify constancy. Leicester alludes to the biblical verse in the book of Jeremiah (13:23): ‘Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?’²⁰⁵ Queen Elizabeth did seem to have a particular fondness for strange nicknames.²⁰⁶ According to Sir John Oglander, she

²⁰¹ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 17.

²⁰² T. Elyot, *The Book Named the Gouvernour* (1531), I. xviii. sig. Jvii.

²⁰³ C. Read., *Mr Seecretary Walsingham* (3 vols., Oxford, 1925), II, 60.

²⁰⁴ BL, Harley MS 6265, ff. 71v–72r

²⁰⁵ S. Adams, A. Bryson, and M. Leimon, ‘Walsingham, Sir Francis (c.1532–1590)’ *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28624>, accessed 24 June 2008].

²⁰⁶ Robert Dudley was her ‘eyes’, Burghley her ‘spirit’, Anjou her ‘frog’: C. Haigh, *Elizabeth I* (2001),

called Sir William More her ‘black husband’ when she visited him at Loseley.²⁰⁷

In a sermon of 1586, Meredith Hanmer similarly did not make any clear distinction between Moor and Negro:

The Moores called Mauri inhabite Mauritania in Affrike ... these people ... are because of their hewe and colour of the Latins called Nigritae, in our vulgar speech Nigros, and of the Grecians in the same sense for their adult, and blacke colour called μαυροί and μαυρουσιοι Moores.²⁰⁸

From his perspective, it would seem that Moor and Negro were synonymous in ‘vulgar’ English, with Greek and Latin roots respectively. The conflation continued- in the 1590s, Blundeville writes of ‘The Emperour of the Moores or Ethiopians’,²⁰⁹ while Peele’s Queen Elinor has a ‘litter borne by foure Negro Mores.’²¹⁰

The terms ‘Moor’, ‘Blackamoor’ and ‘Ethiop’ were used interchangeably in the popular proverb ‘Abluis Aethiopem: quid frustra’ (to wash an Ethiop is to labour in vain).²¹¹ It featured in the *Biblioteca Eliotae* (1545), where the Latin ‘Aethiop’ becomes a ‘Moore’:

p.113.

²⁰⁷ *The Oglander Memoirs, Extracts from the MSS. of Sir J. Oglander*, ed. W.H. Long (1888), p. 138. Elizabeth is known to have visited Loseley in 1567, 1569, 1576, 1583 and 1591. W.B. Robison, ‘More, Sir Christopher (b. in or before 1483, d. 1549)’, *ODNB* [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/37781>, accessed 19 September 2011] Oglander married William More’s granddaughter Frances in 1606. J. M. Rigg, ‘Oglander, Sir John (1585–1655)’, rev. S. Kelsey, *ODNB* [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/20604>, accessed 2 Dec 2008]

²⁰⁸ M. Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turke, a Sermon* (1586), sig B3v-4r.

²⁰⁹ Thomas Blundeville, *M. Blundeville his exercises containing sixe treatises* (1594), p. 261.

²¹⁰ G. Peele, *King Edward the First*, ed. H. Hart (Oxford 1911), sig. Ei r.

²¹¹ The story on which this proverb was based seems to have originated in one of Aesop’s fables. The proverb first appeared in an epigram by Lucian: see B. Baldwin, ‘The Epigrams of Lucian’, *Phoenix*, 29, no. 4 (Winter 1975) p. 325. It appeared in Andrea Alciato’s *Book of Emblems* (Paris, 1540), no. 59, and was also used by Erasmus. See D. Erasmus, *The Adages of Erasmus*, ed. W. Barker (Toronto, 2001), pp. 80–81. For further discussion, see: K. Newman, ‘And Wash the Ethiop White: Femininity and the Monstrous in Othello’, in J. E. Howard and M. F. O’Connor (ed.), *Shakespeare Reproduced: The Text in History and Ideology* (1987), pp. 141–62; C. Prayger, ‘If I be the Devil: English Renaissance response to the proverbial and ecumenical Ethiopian’, *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 17, no.2 (1987), pp. 257–279; J.-M. Massing, ‘From Greek Proverb to Soap Advert: Washing the Ethiopian’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 58 (1995), pp. 180–201 and A. Korhonen, ‘Washing the Ethiopian white: conceptualizing black skin in Renaissance England’ in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, pp. 94–112.

‘Aethiopem lavas’ - Thou wastest a Mooren, or Moore. A proverb applied to him that praiseth a thing that is nought, or teacheth a naturall foole wisdom. This proverb grew of one that boughte a Mooren, and thinking that the blackness of his skinne happened by the negligence of his first maister, he ceased not to washe the Mooren continually with such thinges, as he thoughte would make him white, by whiche labour and washinge he so vexed the poore slave, that he brought him into a great sicknes, his skinne remaining still as blacke as it was before’.²¹²

Two examples from the 1580s employ ‘blackamores’ in the proverb. Thomas Howell wrote in 1581 of: ‘one that washeth a black a Moore white’.²¹³ George Whitney’s *Choice of Emblems* (Leyden, 1586), a work dedicated to the Earl of Leicester included an illustration, with accompanying verse:

Leave of with paine, the blackamore to skowre
With washinge ofte, and wiping more than due.²¹⁴

In Robert Greene’s *James IV* (c.1591), the term ‘Moor’ is employed again: ‘as soone may the Moore be washed white/ Then these corruptions bannisht from this Realme’.²¹⁵ In a play of 1611, one character complains: ‘I wash a negro, losing both paines and cost’.²¹⁶ In *The White Devil* (1612), it is the ‘Ethiop’ who is washed white.²¹⁷ Thus, ‘Moors’, ‘Blackamoors’, ‘Ethiops’ and ‘Negros’ were all conceptualized as persons with skins indelibly black.

Individuals were occasionally described using more than one of the available terms.

Anthony, Nicholas Witchals’ servant, was baptized as a ‘blakemore’ in Barnstaple in

²¹² cited by Prayger, ‘If I be the Devil’, p. 259.

²¹³ T. Howell, *His Devises for His Owne Exercise, and His Friends Pleasure* (1879), p. 184.

²¹⁴ G. Whitney, *A Choice of Emblems* (Aldershot, 1989), p. 57.

²¹⁵ Act V, Scene IV, lines 6-7, quoted in C. Prayger, ‘If I be the Devil’, p. 65.

²¹⁶ Thomas Dekker, Thomas Middleton, *The Roaring Girl*, ed. P. Mulholland (Manchester, 1987), Act I, sc II, line 180, p. 180.

²¹⁷ J. Webster, *The White Devil*, ed. J.R. Brown (Manchester, 1996), p. 147.

1565, but described as a 'Negarre' in Witchals' will of 1570.²¹⁸ Gylman Ivey, as we have already seen, was a 'negro' in the Dyrham parish register entry for 1575, but an 'Aethiop' thereafter.²¹⁹ Edward Swarthy was described as a 'Neigro or blackamore' in 1597.²²⁰ Grace of Hatherleigh, Devon was described as a 'blackmore' and a 'negro' between 1604 and 1613.²²¹ Thus the terms were close to synonymous in clerical as well as literary minds. 'Blackamore' and its variants was by far the most popular term, used in 40% of cases. 'Negro' was the second most prevalent, appearing in 12% of cases.

In 1630, 'James Kelly, an African Blackemoore' was baptised in St. Leonard's, Shoreditch: the first and only African in this study to actually be referred to as such.²²² Even then, the clerk preferred to add the more familiar term, 'Blackemoore'. Although many if not all of these terms sound derogatory to modern ears, they were not necessarily used as such in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century sources examined here. These terms described the most striking quality about African individuals from the perspective of the pale people who met them in Britain: their dark skin.

Conclusion

The evidence collected in the research for this thesis and presented in the Appendix cannot claim to be the result of an exhaustive search of all the possible sources available for the period. However, it has brought together more evidence for the lives of Africans in Britain than have previous studies. Crucially, it has done so with a strict sense of what

²¹⁸ Appendix, Wills and Inventories, no. 1.

²¹⁹ Above, p. 64.

²²⁰ Appendix, Court Records, no. 16.

²²¹ Appendix, Baptisms, nos. 24,31,37, Burials, nos. 57,64.

²²² Appendix, Baptisms, no. 52.

does and does not amount to evidence describing an African. The history of the black presence in these islands is often cited in political debates; it is all the more important therefore to ground the debate on a strong empirical foundation. Including references to what Habib calls ‘fluctuating ethnic clarity’ only dilutes the power of the argument. The records I have found are indicative, and more references to Africans should surface over time in other archives. Yet I think I have collected enough material from a wide variety of sources to get at least a flavour of the African experience in Britain in the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries. Using this collection of evidence, we can, for the first time, get a sense of how the English language was used to describe people with dark skin, not in the poetry of Shakespeare or the voyages of Hakluyt, but in the practical everyday language of parish clerks and legal scribes. This language can tell us more about the real, lived experience of Africans in England than the fictions of plays set in foreign climes, or accounts of voyages to distant lands. With a wide range of terms to describe Africans at their disposal, it seems even more unlikely that they would not call ‘Mr. Black’ a ‘blackamoor’ if he were one. Armed with this knowledge, we should now find it easier to identify evidence of Africans in the archives.

Chapter 1: The International Context of the African Presence in Britain

Were the history and growing importance of British contact with Africa and Africans in the wider Atlantic world in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century well known, we could proceed immediately to examine the records of Africans present in Tudor and early Stuart Britain. However, this vital context to their lives is woefully understudied and unknown. John Blake's statement of 1949 is still true:

No historian so far has attempted a major study of the development of the west African trade of England between the Armada and the Restoration... want of interest in the African trade as such, the fatal fascination of the transatlantic slave trade, and the want of accessible records seem to have been the factors which combined to cause this curious omission in colonial studies.¹

His comments about west African trade can be applied to African trade in general.

Although trade with Africa was still relatively insignificant in the period before 1640, it is vitally important in providing a context for the presence of Africans in Britain. In order to understand how and why Africans came to Britain, and what they experienced whilst living there, we must first understand the international context. The increasing levels of trade with Africa: first with the Barbary States from 1550 and then with Guinea and further down the western coast from 1554, provide part of the answer to the question of the growing black presence in Britain.

It is equally important to remember that, thanks primarily to the activities of the Iberian powers, Africa was not the only place Britons were likely to encounter Africans, neither did all the Africans who came to Britain come straight from Africa. Scholars have estimated that between 1441 and 1521 as many as 156,000 African slaves arrived in

¹ J.W. Blake, 'The form of the Guinea trade in 1631' in H.A. Cronne ed., *Essays in British and Irish History* (1949), p. 86.

Iberia and the Atlantic islands, and over 300,000 Africans reached the Americas between 1502 and 1619.² By 1550, Africans made up 10% of the population of Lisbon, and 7.5% of the population of Seville.³ In 1533-8 the humanist scholar Nicholas Cleynaerts visited Évora from the Netherlands and declared: 'I had hardly set foot in Évora and I felt as though I had been transported to hell, I came across black people everywhere.'⁴ There was also a sizeable black African population, both slave and free, in Italy, much of which was ruled from Madrid after 1530. Many of Venice's gondoliers were African, for example, and even Alessandro dei Medici, Duke of Florence 1529-1537 was the son of an African slave, Simonetta.⁵ Thus, Africans could have arrived in Britain via Europe or the Americas, or even from somewhere in between. Ira Berlin coined the phrase 'Atlantic creoles': people of African descent who originated neither in the heart of Africa nor in colonial America, but in the commercial world linking the two.⁶ His work looks at the seventeenth century, but the emergence of this type can be traced further back into the sixteenth. As English and Scottish ships sailed around the Atlantic and beyond they increasingly encountered people of African origin. Some of these people would return

² J. H. Sweet, 'Spanish and Portuguese Influences on Racial Slavery in British North America, 1492-1619', paper given at *Collective Degradation: Slavery and the Construction of Race* Conference, Yale University, November 7-8, 2003, p. 3 [<http://www.yale.edu/glc/events/race/Sweet.pdf>, accessed 1 July 2011]; A.C. de C.M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441-1555* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 67.

³ Ibid., p. 8; I. Elbl, 'The Volume of the Early Atlantic Slave Trade, 1450-1521', *Journal of African History*, 38 (1997), pp. 31-75.

⁴ J. Fonseca, 'Black Africans in Portugal during Cleynaerts' visit (1533-8)' in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, p. 114.

⁵ P.H.D. Kaplan, 'Italy 1490-1700' in D. Bindman and H.L. Gates (ed.), *The Image of the Black in Western Art* (New ed., 3 vols., 2010), III: part 1, p. 95; J. Brackett, 'Race and Rulership: Alessandro de' Medici, first Medici duke of Florence, 1529-1537' in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, pp. 303-325.

⁶ I. Berlin, 'From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 53, 2 (April 1996), pp. 251-288; W.J. Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Days of Sail* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), p. 9; P.D. Morgan, 'British Encounters with Africans and African Americans, c.1600-1780' in *Strangers Within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill, 1991), pp. 157-219; J.E. Harris, 'The African Diaspora in the Old and the New Worlds' in *A General History of Africa, Vol 5: Africa from the 16th to the 18th century* (1992), pp. 113-136.

with them to Britain.⁷

Early European Contacts with Africa and Africans: the Iberian example

When the English began to make increasing contact with Africa and Africans during the course of the sixteenth century, they were not the first Europeans to do so. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to travel to Africa, in the exploratory voyages to India undertaken by men such as Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco de Gama in the fifteenth century, under the auspices of Henry the Navigator. They had first landed in Angola in 1482.⁸ By the time of the first English voyages to the coast of Guinea in the 1530s, the Portuguese had already established forts there, notably Elmina Castle (in modern-day Ghana), which Robert Baker described in 1568.⁹ The first enslaved Africans were imported into Portugal in 1444, and the first shipment of slaves was taken across the Atlantic in 1516.¹⁰ The Spanish then began to colonise South America and the Caribbean following Columbus's landfall on the island he named San Salvador in 1492.¹¹ Initially, the native Americans were used as a labour force, but the importation of African labour became increasingly practicable and desirable as the local population increasingly succumbed to Western diseases and writers such as Bartholomé de las Casas expressed

⁷ M.J. Guasco, 'Encounters, Identities and Human Bondage: The Foundations of Racial Slavery in the Anglo-Atlantic World' (William and Mary College PhD thesis, 2000); M.J. Guasco, 'Free from the tyrannous Spaniard: Englishmen and Africans in Spain's Atlantic World', *Slavery & Abolition*, 29, no. 1 (March 2008), pp. 1-22; Chapter 2, pp. 144-58.

⁸ G. Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese: the Myth and the Reality* (1978), p. 14.

⁹ J.W. Blake, *West Africa: Quest for God and Gold, 1454-1578, a Survey of the First Century of White Enterprise in West Africa with Particular Reference to the Achievement of the Portuguese and their Rivalries with other European Powers* (1977); P.E.H. Hair, ed. *Travails in Guinea: Robert Baker's 'Briefe Dyscourse' (?1568)* (Liverpool, 1990), pp. 42-3.

¹⁰ Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal*, pp. 5-11.

¹¹ J.H. Elliott, 'The Spanish Conquest and Settlement of America', in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. L. Bethell (11 vols., Cambridge, 1984-1995) I, 149-206.

objections to their enslavement.¹²

It was Portugal's involvement in Africa that caused the biggest change in the balance of world power in the sixteenth century. The battle of Alcazar in 1578 was the culmination of a campaign designed to reassert Portuguese authority over the kingdom of Morocco, which was becoming more powerful as the Ottoman influence waned after the defeat at Lepanto (1571).¹³ At the battle of Alcazar, the young Portuguese king, Don Sebastian, was killed. This led to a succession crisis in 1580 on the death of his great-uncle, Cardinal King Henry, culminating in the annexation of Portugal by Spain. Philip II, who did have some claim to the throne, forced the other claimant Don Antonio, Prior of Crato, to flee to northern Europe. His aim to overpower Philip II was doomed to failure, however, as Philip was now the dreaded 'universal monarch', uniting under his rule the Portuguese and Spanish empires, a global dominion 'on which the sun never set'.

This meant that when English ships began to venture beyond European waters, they did so in the context of an Iberian world empire, and were viewed by the Iberian powers as interlopers. When Don Antonio came to England in 1581 the English sought to add an extra veneer of legality to their exploits on the Guinea coast by using his name in the patents granted to merchants.¹⁴ Despite this attempt to provide their voyages with Portuguese authorisation, Englishmen continued to encounter their Spanish and

¹² W.S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment 1558-1660* (Durham, N.C., 1971), p. 15: Bartholemé de Las Casas's *Brevissima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias* was written in 1542, printed in 1552, and the English version, entitled *The Spanish Colonie*, came out in 1583.

¹³ *Piracy, Slavery and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*, ed. D.J. Vitkus (New York, 2001), pp. 6-7.

¹⁴ G. Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery* (Madrid, 2008), pp. 82-90. See below pp. 85-86.

Portuguese rivals in the Atlantic world at every turn.

The emerging English trade with Africa

Before 1550

Compared to the Portuguese, the English were latecomers to the African coast.¹⁵ As early as 1481, Englishmen John Tintam and William Fabian had contemplated a voyage to Africa. However the Portuguese *Cortes* complained to Edward IV about the intrusion into John II's imperial dominion, and the expedition was abandoned.¹⁶ The first recorded English voyage to Africa as described by Richard Hakluyt came in 1530, when William Hawkins:

a man for his wisdom, value, experience and skill in sea causes much esteemed and beloved of King Henry the eight, and being one of the principall Sea Captains in the West partes of England in his time, not contented with the short voyages commonly then made onely to the knowen coastes of Europe, armed out a tall and goodlie ship of his owne of the burthen of 250 tunnes, called the Pole [Paul] of Plimmouth wherewith he made three long and famous voyages unto the coast of Brasill, a thing in those days very rare, especially to our Nation. In the course of which voyages he touched at the Riuer of Sestos, upon the coaste of Guinea, where he trafiqued with the Negroes, and tooke of them Oliphant's teeth [ivory], and other commodities which that place yeeldeth.¹⁷

These other goods probably included the malguette pepper native to the Guinea coast. A second voyage was made by Hawkins in 1531 and a third in 1532. Though records are scanty, this trade to Brazil via the Guinea coast seems to have continued until the end of

¹⁵ The French and later the Dutch also began to frequent these shores, but here I will focus on English activities.

¹⁶ A.M. Kleist, 'The English African Trade Under the Tudors', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, 3 (1957), p. 137; Blake, *West Africa: Quest for God and Gold*, pp.60-62; Blake, *Europeans in West Africa, 1450-1560* (Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser, LXXXVII, 1942), p.266; *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, ed. R. Brown (38 vols., 1864-1947), 1202-1509, p. 142.

¹⁷ Hakluyt, II, 700. William was Sir John Hawkins's father. B. Morgan, 'Hawkins, William (b. before 1490, d. 1554/5)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12683>, accessed 7 Aug 2011]. This is the first known voyage emanating from England. English merchants resident in Spain and Portugal may have travelled to Africa earlier. See Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery*, p. 28. The River Cestos meets the Atlantic at 'River Cess', south east of Monrovia in modern day Liberia.

the decade. Hawkins wrote to Thomas Cromwell in 1536 asking for a loan against future voyages:

I durst never sue to your Lordship for any help till I had first put my ship and goods in adventure to search for the commodities of unknown countries and seen the return thereof in safety, as has metely well happened unto me, albeit by four parts not so well as I suppose it should if one of my pilots had not miscarried by the way. I beg to have of the King four pieces of brass ordnance and one last of powder on good sureties, and also on security of 100l. a loan of 2,000l. for seven years towards equipping three or four ships; and I doubt not to do such feats of merchandise as shall be of great advantage to the King's Custom.¹⁸

By 1540, Hawkins had attracted some high-profile investors. As Richard Hakluyt related:

I have bene informed by M. Anthony Garrard, an ancient and worshipful merchant of London, that this voyage to Brasil was frequented by Robert Reniger, Thomas Borey, and divers other wealthie marchants of Southampton about 50 yeeres past, to wit, in the yeere 1540.¹⁹

Plymouth customs records show that the *Paul* left port on 25 February 1540 and returned on 20 October with 'one dosen olyfantes tethe' from Guinea, and 92 tons of Brazil wood.²⁰ However, the escalation of Anglo-French hostilities in the following decade caused Hawkins and Reneger to abandon transatlantic trade in favour of easier privateering prey in the Channel.²¹

Early voyages, 1550-1585

Before 1550, African goods had mostly come to England via Spain, Portugal or the Spanish-controlled Netherlands. Thus, in 1535, Andrew Boorde sent Thomas Cromwell 'seeds off reuberbe [rhubarb]' from Catalonia, explaining that they came 'owtt off

¹⁸ *L&P, Henry VIII*, XI: July- December 1536, p. 579.

¹⁹ Hakluyt, II, 701.

²⁰ TNA, E 122/116/11,13.

²¹ D. Loades, 'Reneger, Robert (d. 1558?)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/71701>, accessed 24 May 2007]; Morgan, 'Hawkins, William (b. before 1490, d. 1554/5)', *ODNB*. See p. 101 below for William Hawkins's privateering exploits.

barbary. In these partes [Catalonia] ytt ys had for a grett tresure'.²² It was not until the disruption of trade with Spain by the wars of the 1540s and the collapse of the Antwerp cloth mart in the wake of the Revolt of the Netherlands (1568-1609), that English merchants began to seek new markets for cloth, and to obtain exotic imports such as gold, sugar and pepper directly from African sources rather than using Spanish and Portuguese middlemen.²³

The first port of call was the closest. Morocco, commonly referred to by Englishmen as Barbary, was the only North African state to resist Ottoman occupation. Ahmad al-Mansur (1578-1603) unified Morocco and increased trade with England and Holland.²⁴ The trade was one-sided, as there is no evidence that Moroccan merchants came to Britain.²⁵ The 'first voyage for traffique into the kingdom of Marocco in Barbarie' was undertaken in 1551, by the *Lion of London*, under the command of Thomas Wyndham.²⁶ Hakluyt's date is confirmed by the statements of English merchants in the 1560s.²⁷ In a second voyage of 1552 Wyndham's *Lion* was accompanied by two more ships, the *Buttolfe* and 'a Portugall caravel bought of certain Portugals in Newport in Wales'. They set off from 'King-rode, neere Bristol' in May 1552 and returned to London in October,

²² Boorde, *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, ed. Furnivall, p. 56.

²³ T. S. Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade* (1959), p. 95; K.R. Andrews, *Trade, plunder and Settlement: maritime enterprise and the genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 7-9; R. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (1993), pp. 12-13.

²⁴ *Piracy, Slavery and Redemption*, ed. Vitkus, p. 7.

²⁵ Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, p. 310. Matar refutes this stating 'Magharibi traders and envoys travelled to England for business, negotiations and spying', *Britain and Barbary*, p. 3, but provides no evidence. He may be conflating ambassadors with merchants. Lambert Waterson may be a solitary example of a Moroccan trader living in London in 1568: Chapter 3, p. 206; Appendix, Tax Returns, no. 3.

²⁶ Hakluyt, VI, 136. J. D. Alsop, 'Wyndham, Thomas (d. 1554)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30146>, accessed 24 May 2007]; R. Tong, 'Captain Thomas Wyndham: Tudor Merchant Adventurer', *History Today*, 7 (April, 1957), pp. 221-228.

²⁷ Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, pp. 93-4.

having traded 'linen, woollen cloth, corall, amber, jet and divers other things well accepted by the Moores' (these included hardware, guns, and copies of the Old Testament) for 'sugar, dates, almonds, and malassos or sugar syrup' in Agadir. They also called at Santa Cruz and Zafia.²⁸ Both these initial voyages were promoted by a group of prominent London merchants, including William Chester, William Garrard, Thomas Lodge, Sir John Yorke, Sir Thomas Wroth, Francis Lambert and Alexander Cole.²⁹

These voyages antagonised the Portuguese. As James Thomas reported in his description of Wyndham's second voyage to Morocco in 1552:

the Portugals were much offended with this our new trade into Barbarie, and both in our voiage the yeere before, as also in this they gave out in England by their merchants that if they tooke us in those partes, they would use us as their mortall enemies, with great threatens and menaces.³⁰

Despite this, by 1558, the trade had outgrown the stage of separate, self-contained voyages and developed a more permanent and continuous organisation based on factors resident in Morocco, such as Philip Westcott, 'factor and doer' for Sir Thomas White in 1558.³¹ Iberian resistance to the trade continued. A 'direction for trades of marchandize',

²⁸ Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, p. 99; Tong, 'Captain Thomas Wyndham', p.224. The Bibles were designed for the Moroccan Jews.

²⁹ Chester, Garrard and Lodge would go on to invest in John Hawkins' slaving voyages in the 1560s. J. D. Alsop, 'Chester, Sir William (c.1509–1595?)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5240>, accessed 22 May 2007]; H. Miller, 'Garrard, Sir William (c.1510–1571)', rev., *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37441>, accessed 22 May 2007]; A. McConnell, 'Lodge, Sir Thomas (1509/10–1585)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16922>, accessed 22 May 2007]; J. G. Elzinga, 'York, Sir John (d. 1569)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30233>, accessed 22 May 2007]; S. Lehmborg, 'Wroth, Sir Thomas (1518?–1573)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30084>, accessed 22 May 2007]

³⁰ Hakluyt, VI, 138–40.

³¹ Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, pp. 101–104; A. Shepard, 'White, Sir Thomas (1495?–1567)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29272>, accessed 22 May 2007] The first two ventures to Barbary are recorded by Hakluyt, but as he was concerned with voyages of discovery, once the trade became established, it disappeared from his pages. Westcott's name appears in a Chancery document also mentioning 'the country of Barbary', but it is badly damaged and illegible. TNA, C 4/67/50.

probably written for Walsingham around 1580, warns of the Barbary trade that: ‘yf the Spanyardes take you trading with them you dye for it’.³² But the Spaniards did not prevent large numbers of Britons from trading with Morocco. Before the 1620s there were more Britons resident in North Africa than in North America.³³ The Barbary trade remained significant, and by 1635, 44% of London’s imports came from the Islamic world.³⁴

Merchants also ventured further south. Trade to Guinea began again in 1553, when Thomas Wyndham, with the help of the Portuguese pilot Antonio Anes Pinteado, took the *Lion of London*, the *Primrose* and a pinnace named the *Moone* to Guinea and Benin. Although this voyage resulted in the death of both men and many of their crew from fever, with only 40 out of 140 men and one ship (the *Primrose*) out of three returning, enough gold (150lbs) and pepper was brought back to encourage further voyages. The role of the renegade pilot demonstrates Portuguese knowledge of the area. Pinteado offered his services to the English merchants after he had been forced to flee Portugal, possibly because he may have been a *converso*.³⁵

The following year, one of the merchants already involved in the Barbary trade, Sir John Yorke, with Sir George Barne, Thomas Lok, Anthony Hickman and Edward Castelin (the latter two already being traders to the Canaries) sent out three more ships under the

³² Read, ‘English Foreign Trade Under Elizabeth’, p. 518.

³³ *Piracy, Slavery and Redemption*, ed. Vitkus, p. 2.

³⁴ D. Loades, *England’s Maritime Empire: Seapower, Commerce and Policy, 1490-1690* (2000), p. 147. This would of course have included the trade to the Levant, see below p. 85.

³⁵ Tong, ‘Captain Thomas Wyndham’, pp. 221-228; H. Thomas, *The Slave Trade: the History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440-1870* (1997), p. 154.

command of John Lok, Thomas's brother.³⁶ He returned with a fantastic haul. As Robert Gainsh, master of the *John Evangelist*, described:

They brought from thence [Guinea] at the last voyage four hundred pound weight and odd of gold, of two and twenty carats and one grain in fineness: also six and thirty butts of grains [pepper], & about two hundred and fifty Elephant's teeth [ivory tusks] of all quantities ... some of them were as big as a man's thigh above the knee. [There] was brought the head of an Elephant, of such huge bigness ... this head divers have seen in the house of the worthy merchant Sir Andrew Judde, where also I saw it, and beheld it, not only with my bodily eyes, but much more with the eyes of my mind and spirit, considering by the work, the cunning and wisdom of the workmaster: without which consideration, the sight of such strange and wonderful things may seem rather curiosities, than profitable contemplations.³⁷

This display of strange new treasures clearly inspired London's merchants and investors, as in 1555, 1556 and 1558, three further voyages set out under the command of William Towerson.³⁸

These voyages provoked the Portuguese once more. In 1555 Philip II, now king of England, upheld the complaints of John III of Portugal, as conveyed by his envoy Lopes de Sousa, and the Privy Council banned voyages to Guinea.³⁹ In August 1556, two ships bound for Guinea were arrested in Bristol. However the prohibition was half-hearted and the trade continued.⁴⁰ Portuguese ambassadors, such as Emmanuel d'Arajo in 1561, Juan Pereira Dantes in 1562 and Emmanuel Alvarez in 1568, continued to urge prohibition of English trade to Africa.⁴¹ Their efforts were undermined by those of their disaffected

³⁶ These Lok brothers were the sons of Sir William Lok. J. McDermott, 'Lok, Sir William (1480–1550)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16951>, accessed 22 May 2007].

³⁷ Hakluyt, VI, 163-4. For more on this voyage, see Chapter 2, pp. 134-6.

³⁸ J. C. Appleby, 'Towerson, William (d. 1584)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27593>, accessed 22 May 2007]

³⁹ Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, p.108. See also *APC*, 1554-5, pp. 162, 305, 315.

⁴⁰ Kleist, 'The English African Trade Under the Tudors', p. 140.

⁴¹ Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, p. 140; *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave*

countrymen. Following Pinteado, Antonio Luis and Andre Homen (alias Gaspar Caldeira) came to England in 1567 to convince the English that they could guide them to a secret location in Africa, beyond the influence of the Portuguese, where they would find a copious supply of gold.⁴² As Guzman de Silva, the Spanish ambassador in England, wrote to Philip II in August: 'they informed [William Winter, the Vice-Admiral], that they knew of a very rich part of the Portuguese Indies from which great profits might be drawn'.⁴³

This search for gold was used by John Hawkins to distract de Silva from his true intention in 1567: to continue the trade in 'negroes' that he had been pursuing since 1562. In that year he had the dubious honour to become the first Englishman to set out from England with the primary purpose of taking African slaves from Guinea and selling them in the Caribbean. As Hakluyt recounts, while Hawkins was trading in the Canaries:

being amongst other particulars assured that Negroes were very good merchandise in Hispaniola, and that store of negroes might easily be had upon the coast of Guinea, resolved with himselfe to make trial thereof, and communicated that devise with his worshipfull friends of London: namely with Sir Lionel Duckett, Sir Thomas Lodge, M. Gunston, his father in lawe, Sir William Winter, M. Bronfield and others. All which persons liked so well of his intention, that they became liberall contributors and adventurers in the action.⁴⁴

Of these men, we can see that Thomas Lodge was also one of the first investors in the

Trade to America, ed. E. Donnan (4 vols., Washington D.C., 1930-1935), I, p. 12. *CSPF*, 1561-1562, pp. 54-5, 72-3, 90.

⁴² J.A. Williamson, *Hawkins of Plymouth: a New History of Sir John Hawkins and of the Other Members of his Family Prominent in Tudor England*, 2nd ed. (1969), pp. 100-103.

⁴³ *CSPS*, 1558-1567, p. 666. He also reported in 1568 that the Portuguese were willing to sell 'negroes' to the English in certain places. *CSPS*, 1568-79, pp. 18, 22.

⁴⁴ *The Hawkins' Voyages During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I*, ed. C R. Markham (Hakluyt Soc., 1st ser. LVII, 1878), p. 5. J.C. Appleby, 'Duckett, Sir Lionel (d. 1587)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/49749>, accessed 25 May 2007]; D. Loades, 'Winter, Sir William (c.1525-1589)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29769>, accessed 25 May 2007]. For Benjamin Gonson (c.1525-1577), son of William, see J. Bennell, 'Gonson, William (d. 1544)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47400>, accessed 25 May 2007]; For Lodge, see above, n. 330.

Barbary trade. Hawkins's first voyage was so successful that the second venture in 1564-5 attracted the backing of three Privy Councillors: Robert Dudley (earl of Leicester from the summer of 1564), the earl of Pembroke, and Lord Clinton, the lord admiral. However in the third voyage of 1567-8, in which Hawkins's ambitions ran to erecting a fort, his luck ran out when he encountered the Spanish treasure fleet at San Juan d'Uloa, which decimated his ships and crew and brought an end to this type of venture for the next seventy years or more.⁴⁵

These slaving voyages took place against a background of a regular trade to Guinea for pepper and ivory throughout the 1560s. Hakluyt's collection of voyage accounts includes Robert Baker's verse accounts of expeditions to Guinea in 1562 and 1563, and Walter Wren's account of the 1566 voyage of the *Castle of Comfort*, the *Mayflower* and the *George* to Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, led by brothers George and Edward Fenner.⁴⁶ In March 1571, Guzman de Silva, the Spanish ambassador, reported to King Philip II that

Three detachments of ships, in all seven or eight, are now being equipped here for the Indies. Some of them belong to William Winter, others to Hawkins, which will shortly leave ... and two to Bartolome Bayon [a Portuguese 'renegade'], who ... to judge by the goods he is taking... is going to ship negroes and sell them at the Indies.⁴⁷

At this time, Dr. Hector Nunes, a Portuguese physician living in London, and merchant

⁴⁵ In June 1567, he drew up a 'proportion of ordnance, powder, &c. for the fort at Genoa [Guinea] if there shall be need of any fortification', *CSPD*, 1547-1580, p. 294. Lovell's voyage of 1566, sponsored but not led by Hawkins also attempted to trade in slaves. H. Kelsey, *Sir John Hawkins: Elizabeth's Slave Trader* (2003), pp. 40-46; Chapter 2, pp. 145-7. The English resumed the slave trade c.1641 in which year the *Star* delivered a cargo of Africans to Barbados: L. Gragg, *Englishmen Transplanted: The English Colonization of Barbados, 1627-1660* (Oxford 2003), p. 119; Voyages Database. 2009. *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*. [<http://www.slavevoyages.org>, accessed 21 March 2011]: Voyage number 21876.

⁴⁶ Hakluyt, VI, 266-284. See also D. Loades, 'Fenner, George (c.1540-1618)', *ODNB* [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/9289>, accessed 1 Dec 2008]

⁴⁷ *CSPS*, 1558-1579, p.294.

William Curtis sought to make a voyage to Guinea, but the scheme was forbidden by the Privy Council, who insisted that ‘they shall not repaier into the Indias or Ginnie, nor to any other place of the King of Spaine or Portingal's dominions.’⁴⁸ In November, de Silva reported that:

the four ships belonging to William Winter which went last March to Guinea and attacked Tenerife have not since been heard of. God grant that they may have been captured. We have no news either from Bartolome Bayon, although Dr. Nunes and Cristobal, a new resident here who fitted him out, are hourly looking for him.⁴⁹

Although Kenneth Andrews wrote that ‘after 1571 the English effectively abandoned the Guinea trade. They did not resume the slave trade until after 1650, nor other forms of Guinea trade until the Anglo-Spanish war broke out in 1585’, there is some evidence of sporadic African voyages in that period.⁵⁰ A voyage to ‘the Ryver of Cesto upon the coast of Genoia [Guinea] for grains and oliphantes teethe, and from thence to the Isle of St. Thome upon the same coaste for sugar’ was proposed in 1582,⁵¹ and in that year, Edward Fenton’s voyage, which had set out to sail to the Moluccas, but only got as far as Brazil, spent some time at Sierra Leone.⁵²

Incorporation: the first African trading companies, 1585-1598

The 1580s saw a trend for incorporation. In this period the irregular voyages of the early years began to be transformed into a more regular and regulated trade, undertaken by

⁴⁸ APC, 1571-1575, p. 20.

⁴⁹ CSPS, 1558-1579, p. 353.

⁵⁰ Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, p. 111.

⁵¹ CSPD, 1581-1590, p.59. TNA, SP12/154/24.

⁵² Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, p.163; *The Troublesome Voyage of Captain Edward Fenton, 1582-1583: Narratives and Documents*, ed. E.R.G. Taylor (Hakluyt Soc. 2nd ser., CXIII, Cambridge, 1959); J. McDermott, ‘Fenton, Edward (d. 1603)’, ODNB [http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/9293, accessed 5 July 2011] See below, pp. 99-101, 104-106.

companies rather than individuals.⁵³ A ‘Company to trade beyond the Equinoctial’, with Sir Francis Drake as governor was proposed in 1580 but came to nothing.⁵⁴ The Levant Company was founded in 1581, regularising the trade to the eastern Mediterranean that dated back to at least the reign of Henry VII, calling at North African ports such as Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli and Alexandria.⁵⁵ In 1585, the Barbary Company was incorporated, the charter giving great power to Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, who was named as governor.⁵⁶

On 3 May 1588, William Brayley, Gilbert Smyth, Nicholas Spycer and John Daricott of Exeter, John Younge of Coliton, Devon, Richard Dodderidge of Barnstaple, and Anthony Dassell and Nicholas Turner of the City of London were granted for ten years ‘the sole right of trading along the coast of Guinea from the nethermost part of the river called the river of Senaga, to the southernmost part of the river of Gambia’. Their patent specifies that the ships and goods of interlopers will be forfeit:

one third of the goods so forfeit to be due to [the patentees, named above] and their associates, and one third to certain Portuguese resident within our dominions, at whose instigation the gentlemen named are making their voyage to Guinea.⁵⁷

The ‘Portuguese’ referred to here was Don Antonio, prior of Crato, the claimant to the

⁵³ W.R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* (3 vols., New York, 1951), II, pp. 1-16. Scott’s attempt to portray the pre-1585 ventures as early joint-stock companies elides the distinctive and rather more haphazard character of the 1580s foundations.

⁵⁴ Scott, *English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies*, II, 85; CSPD, 1547-1580, p.689; TNA, SP12/144/44.

⁵⁵ Scott, *English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies*, II, 69; T.S. Willan, ‘Some aspects of the English trade with the Levant in the 16th century’, *English Historical Review*, 70 (1955), pp. 399-410; Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 87-100.

⁵⁶ Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, p.185.

⁵⁷ TNA, C 66/1312, ff.41-43; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 30 Elizabeth (1587-88)*, C66/1304-1321, ed. S. R. Neal (List and Index Soc., CCXCVIII, Kew, 2003), p. 84. This remit covered the entirety of the coastline of modern-day Senegal, from St. Louis to Bakau. Presumably, the last third was to go to the Crown.

Portuguese throne who had arrived in London in 1581 seeking refuge and military aid.⁵⁸ He was also to receive 5 percent of the patentees' profits, and a quarter of their prize goods.⁵⁹ Four years later, Don Antonio complained that Anthony Dassell and the other Guinea patentees had failed to pay him his dues. Dassell's dubious defence was that he had never read the agreement.⁶⁰

A separate right to trade to Sierra Leone, further down the coast, was granted to Thomas Gregory of Taunton and his associates in 1592.⁶¹ In 1588 and 1590, John Bird and John Newton sent the *Richard of Arundel* and a pinnace to Benin, a much longer journey which when attempted by Wyndham in 1552 had resulted in mass fatalities.⁶² They reported:

the commodities that we carried in this voyage were cloth both linen and wollen, yron worke of sundry sorts, manillios or bracelets of copper, glass beades and corral. The commodities that we brought home were pepper and Elephants teeth, oyle of palme, cloth made of Cotton wooll very curiously woven, and cloth made of the barke of palme trees ... The people are very gentle and loving ... they make ... spoones of Elephants teeth very curiously wrought with divers proportions of foules and beasts made upon them.⁶³

The Guinea patent was regranted in 1598 to Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham and Sir John Stanhope. Nottingham had been Lord Admiral since 1585 and as such presided over the Armada campaign and the attack on Cadiz in 1596. However, he was not a seafaring man himself, and must have seen the patent as an opportunity for financial gain.⁶⁴ The

⁵⁸ CSPD, 1581-1590, pp.21, 46. See p. 75 above.

⁵⁹ Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, p. 139.

⁶⁰ Appendix, Court Records, no.15; Chapter 2, pp. 136-138.

⁶¹ Scott, *English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies*, II, 10. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 34 Elizabeth , Part I to Part XV, C66/1379-1394*, ed. S. R. Neal (List and Index Soc., , CCLXXII, Kew, 1999), Part VI, p.45. Gregory was also to pay dues and a third of goods to Don Antonio.

⁶² Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, p. 113; Hakluyt, VI, 450-67.

⁶³ Hakluyt, VI, 457.

⁶⁴ J. McDermott, 'Howard, Charles, second Baron Howard of Effingham and first earl of Nottingham

fact that two such high-ranking courtiers were interested in adopting the patent shows that the Guinea trade was becoming an attractive prospect to investors.

The early 17th century: more companies, expansion, discovery of new markets

The first voyage to the East Indies via the Cape of Good Hope was made by James Lancaster between 1591 and 1594. This voyage was proposed by London merchants including Paul Bayning in 1589, but ended in failure, all three ships being lost. The Cape route (as opposed to the alternative route via the Straits of Magellan) was attempted again in 1596 by Benjamin Wood, with similarly disastrous results. Nonetheless, inspired and threatened by the example of the Dutch East India Company (the VOC) London merchants founded their own East India Company in 1600, and sent Lancaster on their first voyage in 1601. This was followed by voyages led by Henry Middleton in 1604 and William Keeling in 1607.⁶⁵ These voyages became regular and Table Bay, or ‘Saldania’, in South Africa, became a convenient ‘refreshing’ point. Although in later years, the main ‘refreshing’ was done in Madagascar, between 1600 and 1620 twenty-five English fleets called at the Cape.⁶⁶ In these voyages, Africa was a staging-post rather than a destination in its own right. The East India Company was to become the largest and most successful of any of the early trading companies. It may have absorbed investment that might otherwise have been directed toward the African trade. That said, most London

(1536–1624)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13885>, accessed 22 May 2007] It is interesting to note that Hakluyt dedicated the second edition of the *Principal Navigations* to him in the same year, 1598. M. Hicks, ‘Stanhope, John, first Baron Stanhope (c.1540–1621)’, *ODNB* [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/26249>, accessed 5 Aug 2011]

⁶⁵ Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, Settlement*, pp. 256–278.

⁶⁶ J. Keay, *The Honourable Company: a History of the East India Company* (1991), p. 15; P.E.H. Hair, ‘Africa (other than the Mediterranean and Red Sea lands) and the Atlantic Islands’ in, *The Purchas Handbook: Studies of the Life, Times and Writings of Samuel Purchas 1577–1626*, ed. L.E. Pennington (2 vols. Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser., CLXXXV, CLXXXVI, 1997), I, 207.

merchants and investors were involved in multiple trading ‘adventures’ at any one time.⁶⁷

During the seventeenth century, despite, or perhaps as a corollary of, the increased investment in the East India and colonial trades, the volume of English trade to Africa increased. Paul Hair estimated that fewer than fifty voyages were made to Guinea before 1600, and some 150 by 1650.⁶⁸ From 1607 to 1618 the leading figure in the Guinea trade was London merchant John Davies, who traded with Sierra Leone in redwood.⁶⁹ He was behind the formation of the Gynney and Bynney Company in 1618, a chartered company headed by Lord Rich (earl of Warwick from 1619), Sir Robert Mansell (treasurer of the Navy) and Sir Ferdinando Gorges.⁷⁰ The company had thirty-six members, ten of whom took an active part in promoting three unsuccessful voyages to the Gambia between 1618 and 1621.⁷¹ In 1650, the Guinea Company told the Council of State that the first English fort on the African coast was established by ‘Sir William St John and company’ on the Gambia River, ‘about 35 years since’.⁷²

Interlopers soon emerged in the form of Humphrey Slaney, William Cloberry and John

⁶⁷ T.K. Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire: Merchant and Gentry Expansion of England, 1575-1630* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), pp. 102-116; Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 17-20.

⁶⁸ P.E.H. Hair, ‘Attitudes to Africans in English Primary Sources on Guinea up to 1650’ *History in Africa*, 26 (1999), p. 46.

⁶⁹ Blake, ‘The farm of the Guinea Trade in 1631’, pp. 92-3; R. Porter, ‘The Crispe Family and the African Trade in the Seventeenth Century’, *Journal of African History*, IX, 1 (1968), p. 58; J.W. Blake, ‘The English Guinea Company, 1618-1660’, *Proceedings of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society* (2nd ser., III, 1945-46), p. 17.

⁷⁰ S. Kelsey, ‘Rich, Robert, second earl of Warwick (1587–1658)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23494>, accessed 22 May 2007]; A. Thrush, ‘Mansell, Sir Robert (1570/71–1652)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17992>, accessed 22 May 2007]; C. E. Clark, ‘Gorges, Sir Ferdinando (1568–1647)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11098>, accessed 22 May 2007]

⁷¹ Scott, *English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies*, II, 11-13; R. Jobson, *The Discovery of River Gambia (1623)*, D. P. Gamble and P. E. H. Hair, eds. (Hakluyt Soc., 3rd ser., II, 1999), Introduction.

⁷² TNA, CO 1/11, no.15 (25 May 1650); *CSPC, 1574-1660*, p. 339.

Wood, partners who competed with Davies in the redwood trade, and Nicholas Crispe, who was particularly interested in the gold trade.⁷³ Crispe has been described as ‘the driving force behind the trade for much of the period 1625-44’.⁷⁴ In 1622, the complaint was that ‘The Guinea Company neither carry on their own trade as far as promised nor allow others to do it’.⁷⁵ In 1624, Nicholas Ferrar complained in parliament about the abuse of the patent, and it was suspended for a number of years.⁷⁶ Crispe went on to obtain a patent for the new Guinea Company in 1631, ‘in consideration of bringing in £10,000 in gold’, along with Sir Richard Young, Sir Kenelm Digby, George Kirke, Humphrey Slany and William Cloberry.⁷⁷ This patent also included trade to Angola.⁷⁸ In 1632-3, with the permission of the rulers of Agona, on the Gold Coast, they ‘settled a ffactory’ at Wiampa and ‘those kings granted that port called Warracoo’ to them.⁷⁹ With help from a renegade Dutchman, Arent De Groot, the company also secured permission from Ambro, the Fanti ruler, to build factories at Kormantin, Egysa, Anomabu and the rest of his coastal dominions. By 1638, work had begun on a substantial fort at Kormantin, which was to remain the main base of English activity on the Gold Coast until 1665.⁸⁰ In 1636, Sir Henry Mervin reported to the Lords of the Admiralty that a ship had returned

⁷³ R. Ashton, ‘Crisp, Sir Nicholas, first baronet (c.1599–1666)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6705>, accessed 22 May 2007]; Porter, ‘The Crispe Family’, pp. 57-77.

⁷⁴ Porter, ‘The Crispe Family’, p. 57.

⁷⁵ *CSPD*, 1619-1623, p. 387.

⁷⁶ Scott, *English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies*, II, 13; Porter, ‘The Crispe Family’, p. 58; *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 1: 1547-1629* (1802), pp. 710, 771, 793.

⁷⁷ Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, p. 113; Porter, ‘The Crispe Family’, p. 62; M. Foster, ‘Digby, Sir Kenelm (1603–1665)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7629>, accessed 23 May 2007]; P. Lewin, ‘Kirke, George (c.1600–1675)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15662>, accessed 23 May 2007]

⁷⁸ *CSPD*, 1631-1633, p. 186.

⁷⁹ Porter, ‘The Crispe Family’, p. 63; *CSPC*, 1574-1660, p. 339; TNA, CO 1/11, no. 15 (25 May 1650).

⁸⁰ Porter, ‘The Crispe Family’, pp. 63-4.

from Guinea with gold and other commodities valued at £30,000 on board.⁸¹ Crispe later claimed that some £500,000 worth of gold was imported from the Gold Coast between 1636 and 1644.⁸² Thus, by the end of my period, the establishment of the Royal Company of Adventurers Trading to Africa in 1662 was in sight.

Scottish involvement in the African trade

Although the Scots had traded to Spain, the Azores, Virginia and the West Indies before the 1630s, they do not seem to have had any direct trade with Africa.⁸³ However, individual Scotsmen did travel to Africa. In 1579, the burgess of Aberdeen began collections for 'the relief of the Scottismen prissoneris in Argier in Affrik'.⁸⁴ In the 1590s, Englishmen sought to evade the law against trade with Spain and its dominions by using Scotsmen to carry their goods.⁸⁵ For example, Bartholomew Cole, a young merchant of Barnstaple told the Canaries Inquisition in December 1593 that:

in the years '89 and '90 George Fausset a native and resident of Scotland came to the said island of San Miguel [Azores] three times bringing merchandise the property of Richard Doderich an Englishman residing at Barnstaple in England and mayor of that town, and of other Englishmen of the same town, sailing always from the said town of Barnstaple with the said merchandise and taking return cargoes from San Miguel to the aforesaid port, and to that of Bristol...⁸⁶

Dodderidge was one of the patentees of the 1588 Guinea Company.⁸⁷ When Cumberland

⁸¹ Scott, *English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies*, II, 15; Porter, p. 64; CSPD, 1635-1636, p. 204.

⁸² Porter, 'The Crispe Family', p.64. See also Crispe's will of 5 April 1666: TNA, PROB 11/319.

⁸³ R. Law, 'The First Scottish Guinea Company, 1634-9', *Scottish Historical Review*, 76, no. 202, part 2 (October 1997), p. 186.

⁸⁴ D. Masson, ed., *The Register of Privy Council of Scotland* (14 vols., Edinburgh, 1877), 1578-1585, p.177.

⁸⁵ S.G.E. Lythe, *The Economy of Scotland in its European setting, 1550-1625* (Westport, Connecticut, 1960), pp. 188-91.

⁸⁶ *English Merchants and the Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries: Extracts from the Archives in Possession of the Most Hon. the Marquess of Bute*, ed. L. de Alberti and A.B. Wallis Chapman (Camden Soc., 3rd ser. XXIII, 1912), p. 73.

⁸⁷ For Dodderidge and the Africans living in Barnstaple see Chapter 2, pp. 154-5.

raided the Azores in 1589, he found three or four Scottish ships trading there.⁸⁸ In 1611, a ship sailed from Leith to the West Indies with the backing of two Edinburgh merchants.⁸⁹ One Scottish ship, the *Janus*, did sail to Sierra Leone to buy ivory and redwood in 1628, but it did so under the aegis of the English Guinea Company and thus sailed back and forth from London, not Scotland.⁹⁰ Scottish interest and involvement in the African trade had increased by the early 1630s. On 13 October 1634, Charles I granted the monopoly of trade between Scotland and Africa to prominent courtiers Patrick Maule of Panmure, Thomas Maxwell of Innerwick, Sir Thomas Thompson of Duddingston and Henry Alexander.⁹¹ They were granted the right to trade to 'Guinea, Riologo, Benny, Cape Lopo Gonzales, Angola and the isles of Principe and Sao Tome' for thirty-one years. The list of places shows that the area which interested the British had by this time expanded far beyond Morocco and Guinea, to include areas as far south as Angola. The company seems to have been set up partly to bypass the monopoly of the English Guinea Company, and the two ships it did send out, the *St. Andrew* and the *Golden Lion*, actually set out from London. However the terms of the charter meant that these ships must at least return to a Scottish port. The *Golden Lion* did so, returning to Leith in 1637 with a 50% profit. The *St Andrew* was not so lucky however, as it was seized by the governor of Sao Tome and all but two of the crew were put to death.⁹² Scottish involvement in the

⁸⁸ Law, 'The First Scottish Guinea Company', p. 189, see also Hakluyt, VI, 367.

⁸⁹ R.J. Hunter, 'Scotland and the Atlantic: the voyage of the Jonet of Leith, December 1611', *Mariner's Mirror*, 79 (1993), pp. 83-84.

⁹⁰ Law, 'The First Scottish Guinea Company', p. 190; citing HCA 13/48, testimony of William Yarburrowe, 14 July 1629.

⁹¹ J. R. M. Sizer, 'Maule, Patrick, first earl of Panmure (1585-1661)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18368>, accessed 24 May 2007]

⁹² Scott, *English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies*, II, 16; *CSPC*, 1574-1660, p. 462; Law, 'The First Scottish Guinea Company', pp. 197-200. The Scottish ship seems to have been mistaken for a Dutch one, and treated as an enemy in the aftermath of the Dutch capture of the Portuguese fortress at Elmina on 28 August 1637.

African trade was therefore relatively insignificant during this period, but there were nonetheless opportunities for Scotsmen to encounter Africans, and indeed possibly for some Africans to travel to Scotland.

Diplomatic relations

Diplomacy came hand in hand with trade. It was vital for merchants that their nation remained on good terms with the African rulers who controlled the trade. Therefore it is not surprising that there was most diplomatic contact with the country with which there was the most regular trade: Barbary. During the parallel reigns of Queen Elizabeth of England (1558-1603) and Ahmad al-Mansur of Morocco (1578-1603), however, the diplomacy took on a new vigour, as the two countries tried to negotiate an alliance against their common enemy, Spain. This spirit of co-operation was to be eroded by the failure to combine forces effectively, mutual suspicion of the 'Infidel' and an increasing number of attacks by Barbary pirates along the British coastline. Relations with other African rulers were on a more ad-hoc basis, mostly carried out by travellers or merchants to serve their individual agendas.

The relationship with Morocco

The history of Anglo-Moroccan diplomatic relations has been described as 'peculiarly fruitless and tedious'.⁹³ However, more recently Nabil Matar has used evidence extant in Arabic as well as the traditional English sources to throw new light on the subject.⁹⁴ This is of interest for us in two contexts: the effect that it had on the English impression of

⁹³ Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, v.

⁹⁴ Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen* and *Britain and Barbary*.

Africans, and that it led Moroccan embassies to English shores.

The English were in communication with the rulers of Morocco from at least the 1570s. In an undated letter, Muhammed al-Mutawakkil (who ruled from 1574 to 1576) wrote to Queen Elizabeth, addressing her as ‘the great one among her people, and the one that is well-liked by us and the one eager to know and communicate with us’, seeking a truce, and ‘to continue in our communication, good relations, polite exchange and amicable protection’.⁹⁵ In 1577 Edmund Hogan led an embassy to Morocco.⁹⁶ Henry Roberts became ambassador to Morocco in 1585, returning in 1589.⁹⁷ Once the Barbary Company was incorporated in 1585, its agents doubled as unpaid ambassadors for the Queen.⁹⁸ This demonstrates the importance of smooth diplomatic relations to the merchants.

In the wake of the Moroccan victory at the battle of Alcazar in 1578, it became clear how useful a North African ally might be to England. William Cecil had in his possession a Portuguese depiction of the battle, and on 25 September 1578, Dr. Hector Nunes sent him a description of the action quoting letters from Lisbon dated 24 August.⁹⁹ There is amongst the State Papers a treatise of 17 September 1579 on ‘the intentions of Spain and how the plans of the King of Spain and France may be frustrated by forming a league with the King of Barbary’.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 4.

⁹⁶ Hakluyt, VI, 285-293.

⁹⁷ TNA, SP 102/4, 54; H. Moore, ‘Roberts, Henry (fl. 1585–1617)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23753>, accessed 22 May 2007]; Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, p. 225.

⁹⁸ Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, p.187.

⁹⁹ R.A. Skelton and J. Summerson, *A Description of Maps and Architectural Drawings: in the Collection made by William Cecil, first Baron Burghley, now at Hatfield House* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 6,65.

¹⁰⁰ TNA, SP 12/132, ff.39-42; *CSPD*, 1547-1580, p. 633.

North African ambassadors came to England from the beginning of the trade. The first recorded were the ‘two Moores, being noble men, whereof one was of the Kings blood, conveyed by the said Master Thomas Windham into their countrey out of England’ on his voyage to Morocco on the *Lion of London* in 1551.¹⁰¹ These must have been the ‘gentlemen from the King of Velez in Morocco’ who came to the English court in July 1551, with ‘letters from his Imperial Majesty’ (Charles V), who stated that they had only come to view the realm of England.¹⁰² T.S. Willan claimed they sought support from Charles V against the King of Morocco, Muley Muhammed.¹⁰³ If so, their mission was ultimately unsuccessful, as the king of Velez was beheaded in 1554.¹⁰⁴

Almost forty years later, on 1 January 1589, Henry Roberts, the Queen’s ambassador to Morocco landed at St Ives, bringing with him a Moroccan ambassador, Mushac Rey. On 12 January, they were escorted by torchlight into the City of London by ‘the chiefest marchants of the Barbary Company well mounted all on horsebacke, to the number of 40 or 50 horse’.¹⁰⁵ Bernardino de Mendoza reported to Philip II:

A man had arrived from Fez to see the Queen and Don Antonio, and in order to beguile the people they had christened him ambassador of the Sherrieff and asserted that he had brought a great sum of money for Don Antonio. They caused the merchants of London to go out and meet him with 200 horsemen, and the Queen received him with the ceremonial of an ambassador, Don Antonio doing the same, sending him a coach in which to visit him.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Hakluyt, VI, 137. For Wyndham, see above, pp. 79-80.

¹⁰² CSPA, 1550-1552, p. 325. Velez was Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera, a rocky fortress off the coast of Morocco.

¹⁰³ Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, p. 97.

¹⁰⁴ CSPA, 1553-1558, p. 149.

¹⁰⁵ Hakluyt, VI, 428.

¹⁰⁶ CSPA, 1587-1603, p. 516.

The ambassador's real name was Ahmad Bilqasim. He was a Morisco who spoke fluent Spanish.¹⁰⁷ He left England 'dressed as a Portuguese' with the expedition led by Drake in 1589 designed to put Don Antonio back on the throne. His 'only object', according to the Spanish spy 'David', was 'to carry the news of the landing to the Sheriff who will then send a force of Moors, or perhaps try to land them in Andalusia.'¹⁰⁸ The help the English expected did not materialise, but this was because al-Mansur had envisaged a joint invasion of Spain starting with Spanish-occupied Tangier. While the English and the 'Moors' shared a common enemy, they did not share a common plan of attack. The English mission failed.¹⁰⁹ Edward Perrin, who had been sent to collect money from Barbary reported 'the Moor would never give a real'.¹¹⁰ However in 1596, Al-Mansur sent three galleys with supplies to Cadiz to help the English attack, led by Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh, and also sent some ships to attack the Spanish simultaneously in the Canaries. Al-Fishtali, a court scribe in Marrakesh, wrote that Al-Mansur 'may God be with him, prepared for jihad against the enemy of religion [Philip II] to punish him for what he had done to Islam.'¹¹¹ Besides sending ships, Al-Mansur 'showed her [Elizabeth I] his willingness to help confront him [Philip II] by supplying her with copper to cast cannons, and saltpeter for ammunition, which he permitted her to buy from his noble kingdoms. He also supplied her with metals that were not found in her lands.'¹¹²

In 1600, another embassy, led by Abd-al-Wahid bin Masoud bin Muhammad al-Annuri,

¹⁰⁷ Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 14.

¹⁰⁸ CSPA, 1587-1603, p. 523.

¹⁰⁹ Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 15.

¹¹⁰ CSPA, 1587-1603, p. 550.

¹¹¹ Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 21.

¹¹² N. Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727* (New York, 2009), p. 159.

was sent to ‘the sultana Isabel [Elizabeth I], whose status among the Christian people continues to be elevated’.¹¹³ This embassy was sabotaged by the Queen, who, realising that the ambassadors were Moriscos, newly escaped from Spain, tried to enlist them as mercenary soldiers, without the involvement of their Moroccan lord. While al-Annuri refused, other members of the party were tempted. These included Hajj Mesa and Abdullah Dudar. Dudar, the interpreter, had served as a mercenary in Italy, and now employed the Italian language in order to plot with the Queen. Later, rumours circulated that al-Annuri and his advisors had ‘poysoned their interpreter, being borne in Granado...[and also] their revernd aged pilgrime [Hajj Musa].’ John Chamberlain reported: ‘the eldest of them, which was a kind of priest or prophet, hath taken his leave of the world and is gone to prophecie apud infernos and to seeke out Mahound theyre mediator’.¹¹⁴ Al-Mansur got to hear of all this and wrote angrily to the Queen that:

the Andalusian [the Arabic term for Morisco] came before our high Porte and relayed to us all your intentions and plans which you had discussed with him and convayed to him. We listened with attentive ears until we understood them all, and became alert to all you had plotted.¹¹⁵

The embassy had some trouble returning home. On 15 October 1600, John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton:

The Barbarians take theyre leave sometime this week, to goe homeward for our merchants nor mariners will not carry them into Turkie, because they thinck it is a matter odious and scandalous to the world to be friendlie or familiar with Infidells but yet yt is no small honour to us that nations so far removed and every way different shold meet here to admire the glory and magnificence of our Queen of Saba [Sheba].¹¹⁶

The relationship between England and Morocco deteriorated after the deaths of Queen

¹¹³ Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 25; Illustration no. 5.

¹¹⁴ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 14.

¹¹⁵ Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, pp. 27-8.

¹¹⁶ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 13.

Elizabeth and Ahmad al-Mansur. In April 1603, Henry Roberts, the English agent in Morocco between 1585 and 1589, wrote to James I urging him to conquer Barbary for king and Christ.¹¹⁷ The idea of a Moroccan alliance was raised again in 1625, when war broke out against Spain once more. In that year John Harrison proposed to the secretary of state, Sir Albertus Morton, that he raise an army of 10,000 anti-Spanish Moriscos in Morocco. He set out to do so in July of that year, writing to Mawlay Zaydan, the Moroccan sultan, for assistance: ‘now is the tyme or neaver, both for the Englishe and Moores, to right themselves against their [Spanish] enemies’.¹¹⁸ However, after Cadiz was attacked by the English in 1626, with little Moroccan participation, Harrison returned to England.¹¹⁹ By 1630, a Moroccan chieftain could write to Charles I, looking back wistfully to ‘The peace betwixt the English and Morres ... in the tyme of Mulley Hamet [Ahmad al-Mansur] and Queen Elizabeth’.¹²⁰

However, one more military alliance took place between the rulers of Britain and Morocco in our period. In 1637, Charles I aided Muhammad al Sheikh al Asghar against the rebels in the port of Salé. These Morisco exiles from the Hornacho region of Spain were known as the ‘Sally pirates’ and had been raiding British ports and carrying off Britons as captives. The fleet secured the release of these captives, and the Moroccan ambassador returned to London in celebration of Anglo-Moroccan cooperation. Matar shows that this was a turning point in Anglo-Moroccan relations, because ‘it was now

¹¹⁷ Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 40.

¹¹⁸ H. Castries, *Les Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc* (3 vols., Paris, 1922), II, p. 572.

¹¹⁹ He later became Governor of Bermuda. N. Matar, ‘Harrison, John (d. 1641x52)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12435>, accessed 17 Feb 2008].

¹²⁰ Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 122.

recognised in England that the navy could overcome coastal defences.’¹²¹

Beyond Barbary

Diplomatic contact with the rest of Africa was, by contrast, sporadic and defined by the contingent needs of individual merchants. The letter Queen Elizabeth sent to ‘the most invincible and puissant king of the Abassens, the mightie Emperour of Aethiopia the higher and the lower’ in 1597 reads like a combination between the paragraph still printed in UK passports, requiring foreign authorities to grant the bearer safe conduct and assistance when travelling, and a treatise on the duties of monarchs.¹²² Perhaps the most interesting part is when Her Majesty promises:

Neither do we require any greater favour in this behalfe, than we upon the like occasion most ready to graunt unto the subjects of all princes and the people of all nations, traveling into our dominions.

Would such travellers need to be carrying similar documentation in order to receive such treatment? This letter shows that contact with Ethiopia was of a different character to that of Morocco. Not in the formal mode of address, but rather in that Ethiopia was not approached as a likely trading partner and political ally, probably due to its geographical location. The letter was probably drafted on the specific request of Laurence Aldersey, a Levant merchant, who sought to travel to Ethiopia, and wanted a letter of safe conduct from his monarch.¹²³

Individual merchants also engaged in ad hoc diplomacy, to smooth the course of

¹²¹ Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, pp. 43-44. See also K.R. Andrews, *Ships, Money and Politics: Seafaring and Naval Enterprise in the Reign of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 160-183.

¹²² Hakluyt, VII, 129.

¹²³ He died on the journey. R. C. D. Baldwin, ‘Aldersey, Laurence (1546–1597/8)’, *ODNB* [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/302>, accessed 5 July 2011]

business. Thus in September 1582, whilst anchoring on the coast of Sierra Leone, Captain Edward Fenton was visited by a representative of King Fatima of Bullom, a local ruler.

According to Richard Madox, minister of the *Galleon Leicester*:

His teeth were serrated by a file, his chest and shoulders marked with characters, and he was circumcised, a common thing on account of their religion among all the Æthiopians whom I have seen up to now. And yet they do not worship Mohammed. He brought our general an elephant's tooth and a long-tailed monkey, which pleased him inordinately as a result of that sympathy which I believe exists between them. But after he had twice fouled his guardian with urine and aroused enmity between his master and others on two occasions, he was finally given to Pyrgopollinices [Nicholas Parker, Captain-at-Land], a matter which marvellously vexed Colax [Richard Cotton, traveller]. The king signified he would gladly confer with us.¹²⁴

The following day, Fenton sent 'an ell and a half of red cloth to king Fatima and a woman's smock to the queen, together with a mirror, all to the value of four marks'.

In an accompanying letter thanking him for his gifts, Fenton flattered the king, referring to 'the greatnes of thy princie mynd' and protesting 'the desier I have to see thy greatnes'. He wrote that:

suche reportes as I have hard of thye upright dealleinge towards all Strangers of honest and good behaviour to be answerabell to truthe and good meaninge and the Kinglike Place thowe mannageth.

However, even in this letter, which P.E.H. Hair described as 'obsequious', we can see that Fenton does not think King Fatima is important enough to leave his ship for - an omission he excuses by blaming a command from his Queen not to 'depart on lande from the charge her majestie hath committed to me,' or as Madox put it 'he was so tied up with the ships that he could not visit him'. Although he claims that he 'muche desire[s]' to

¹²⁴*An Elizabethan in 1582: The Diary of Richard Madox*, ed. E.S. Donno (Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser., CXLVII, 1977), p.197. For Madox's pseudonyms see *ibid.*, pp. 53-5, and for further references to Fatima, see *ibid.*, pp. 169n, 173, 183, 193, 197-8.

establish 'further Amytie and traffique to be hade hereafter betwixt the[e] and the Queene my mistres subiects', it is clearly not a priority.¹²⁵ This particular voyage was bound for the Moluccas, and Sierra Leone was just a stop-over. Equally, as King Fatima was an enemy of the Manis, the local tribe, a journey overland to visit him may have been dangerous.

The interaction with King Fatima betrays a culture clash. Fenton's gift of a 'smocke and a glasse for thy Queene thow Lovest best' contains a tactfully hidden assumption that Fatima is polygamous.¹²⁶ King Farma of Logos, another local ruler, was reported to have some 200 or 300 wives.¹²⁷ Worse still, he and his people, according to the Portuguese, are 'Sambests', or Samboses/Cymboses: cannibals.¹²⁸ This was the kind of stereotype that appeared in sensationalist travel literature, such as Mandeville's *Travels*, which told of people that 'eten more gladly mannes flesh thenne ony other flesh'.¹²⁹ Despite all this, Fenton and his crew made diplomatic overtures to King Fatima, treating him with respect and deference. The character of this diplomatic interaction was quite different to that with Barbary. Only occasional visitors, the English were at first reliant on other Europeans for information and did not call regularly enough to develop strong relationships with rulers. This was to change by the 1630s, when English merchants began to visit the Guinea coast more frequently and set up permanent bases such as the fort at Kormantin.¹³⁰ However,

¹²⁵ *The Troublesome Voyage of Captain Edward Fenton*, ed. Taylor, pp. 108-9; *The Diary of Richard Madox*, ed. Donno, p.198; Hair, *Attitudes to Africans*, p. 54.

¹²⁶ *The Troublesome Voyage of Captain Edward Fenton*, ed. Taylor, p. 109.

¹²⁷ *The Diary of Richard Madox*, ed. Donno, p. 307.

¹²⁸ *The Troublesome Voyage of Captain Edward Fenton*, ed. Taylor, p. 103; *The Diary of Richard Madox*, ed. Donno, p. 168, n. 2.

¹²⁹ *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. Seymour, p. 205; Duarte Lopez, *A Report of the Kingdom of the Congo*, ed. M. Hutchinson (1881), p. 36.

¹³⁰ See Crispe's relations with the rulers of Agona and the Fanti, p.90 above, and Chapter 2, pp. 140-1.

the common theme throughout is that Englishmen required the friendship and support of local rulers in order to carry out their trade, and so treated them with the necessary respect.¹³¹

Privateering

The seizure of foreign shipping was often an attractive alternative, or supplement, to trade. In fact, in the period 1575 to 1630, far more capital was invested in privateering ventures than in any trading company. Rabb calculated in 1967 that £4,400,000 was invested in privateering, compared with £2,887,000 in the East India Company, and £7,100 in the Guinea and Binney Company.¹³² Most merchants in this period pursued privateering as a sideline or even as a main activity, especially in times of war. The activity was given a vestige of legality by the issue of letters of marque or reprisal, which authorised the bearer to recompense themselves by seizing enemy goods to the value of those already taken from them by the enemy.

The highest volume of privateering ventures corresponded closely with periods of war. Thus, when Henry VIII was at war with France, William Hawkins received letters of marque for up to eight ships to take prizes from the French in September 1544.¹³³ Over two hundred vessels made reprisal voyages between 1589 and 1591, in the years immediately following the attack of the Spanish Armada.¹³⁴ The numbers of ships

¹³¹ A. L. Hatfield, 'A 'very wary people in the bargaining' or 'very good merchandise': English Traders' Views of Free and Enslaved Africans, 1550-1650', *Slavery and Abolition*, 25, no. 3(Dec. 2004), pp. 1-17.

¹³² Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire*, p. 66.

¹³³ Morgan, 'Hawkins, William (b. before 1490, d. 1554/5)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12683>, accessed 25 July 2008]

¹³⁴ K.R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering During the Spanish War, 1585-1603* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 4, 32.

granted letters of marque soared again during the wars with Spain and France between 1625 and 1628.¹³⁵

Privateering was not far removed from piracy. In February 1545 William Hawkins and Thomas Wyndham attacked a Spanish ship, the *Santa Maria de Guadeloupe*, belonging to Martin de Miranda. As Hawkins had only been authorised to attack French shipping, this amounted to barefaced robbery at sea, as the Spanish ambassador rightly protested, and on their return, the piratical pair were fined £380 by order of the Privy Council.¹³⁶

Privateering is important to our story because the majority of ships attacked by the British in this period were Spanish and Portuguese, and many were likely to be carrying at least some Africans. For example, when the English captured the *Francis* of Lisbon, which was coming from Elmina in February 1589, Antonio de Sousa testified in the High Court of Admiralty that:

There was in the sayd ship when she was taken 8 chests of grayns, one smale chest of gold containing the value of 15,700 ducats and nothing else but 8 nigros, which was laden in the same *Francis* by one Simon Ffaroesto a Portingall ... for the proper use and accompt of Francisco Revelasco.

His account was confirmed by his countryman, Balthazar Alvarez, who also deposed that there were eight Africans onboard the ship.¹³⁷ While it is unknown what became of these eight Africans, their appearance here shows that English privateering activity certainly led to encounters with Africans and that in some cases it might have led to those Africans returning to England with the prize ships. In fact, as we shall see in the next chapter,

¹³⁵ See *CSPD*, 1628-1629, pp. 285-309 for lists of grants.

¹³⁶ Tong, 'Captain Thomas Wyndham', p. 222; *APC*, 1542-1547, pp. 486, 493, 520.

¹³⁷ TNA, HCA 13/29, ff.40-1 (13 March 1591).

more Africans came to Britain as a result of privateering than as a result of direct trade with Africa.¹³⁸

Encounters with Africans

Thus far we have sketched the grand outline of British interaction with Africa and Africans in the Atlantic world. Now let us turn to the individual encounters that resulted, not between monarchs and merchants, but between sailors and ordinary men and women. The interaction at this level is important in two ways. Firstly, it begins to explain how individual Africans might have made their way to Britain. Secondly, it shows us how Africans were treated and thought of by the Englishmen who encountered them at sea.

Off the African coast

On Friday 21 November 1582, Richard Madox, minister of the *Galleon Leicester* on Fenton's voyage, made a sketch of an African woman while the English ships were at Sierra Leone and he and some companions went to see the Africans in a Portuguese caravel.¹³⁹ The picture attempts to record, almost scientifically, the strange markings he observed on the woman's body. Madox's diary for that day reads:

The portingals having browght down ther caravel with great store of Negroes we went to se them wher we fownd 50 of them trameled like prisoners, al naked saving a rag lyke a dyshclowt to cover ther members. Ther wer women one whose skyn was fynely pinked in this sort.

He seems shocked by the state of the Africans, whom he appears to have been curious to see. The presence of women is deemed worthy of comment, and it was perhaps

¹³⁸ See Chapter 2, pp. 149-158.

¹³⁹ Illustration no.3; *The Diary of Richard Madox*, ed. Donno, p. 191.

particularly shocking to see them treated in this way. John Ward, minister of the *Edward Bonaventure*, who went with Madox to see the Africans commented in his diary:

It would not astonyshe me consydering [if] they had cursed their nativity ... for they laye fettered together like prisoners ... eatinge there meate lyke dogs ... we went aboorde: after supper came the Portyngale from the carvel and there promised the vyceadmirall a Negro: he wente ashore and I to bed.¹⁴⁰

There does not seem to be any condemnation of this treatment, however: while the Africans in the hold ate 'there meate lyke dogs', the Englishmen happily dined with the Portuguese in a more commodious location and discussed the local customs. Indeed, they even bought four 'Negroes' from them in return for some 'kersey, pease and biscuit', to replace crew members who had died.¹⁴¹ The two who served on the *Edward* escaped at the Bay of Good Comfort, Brazil, as recorded by Madox, who seems to disapprove of the swift acquisition of the two men, and perhaps is happy at their flight:

Friday 7th December

Today those two AEthiopians whom Milo [Ward] had acquired with such burning eagerness took to their heels, and ours commended their flight.¹⁴²

John Walker, minister of the *Edward Bonaventure*, also commented: 'Upon this shore our two Negroes wente forthe...we never sawe them synce.'¹⁴³ The other two, named Massau and Zingo, served on the *Galleon*, but died before they reached England. Fenton recorded the death of one, on Friday 7 June 1583: 'Zingo ye Negro dyed.'¹⁴⁴

In addition, on 23 September 1582, Luke Ward, the vice admiral of the *Edward*

¹⁴⁰ *The Diary of Richard Madox*, ed. Donno, p. 315.

¹⁴¹ R. Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation: Imprinted at London, 1589* (Hakluyt Soc., XXXIXa, 1965), p. 655; *The Diary of Richard Madox*, ed. Donno, pp. 201, 319.

¹⁴² *The Diary of Richard Madox*, ed. Donno, p. 250.

¹⁴³ *The Diary of Richard Madox*, ed. Donno, p. 330.

¹⁴⁴ *The Troublesome Voyage of Sir Edward Fenton*, ed. Taylor, p. 147; *The Diary of Richard Madox*, ed. Donno, p. 201, n. 3.

Bonaventure, second-in-command under Fenton, was given a seven year old 'negro' boy named John Primero by the Portuguese captain, Matthew Fernando.¹⁴⁵ However, he exchanged him for a bigger boy on 1 October.¹⁴⁶ It is not clear what became of this boy. Perhaps he returned with Ward to England.¹⁴⁷

Although the English had bought these Africans from the Portuguese, it is uncertain how they were treated onboard the English ships. They certainly had been acquired to supplement the crew, rather than to be sold on for a profit. This conclusion is bolstered by the small number of Africans involved in each transaction. However, there does seem to be a qualitative difference between the English and Iberian ways of treating the Africans, at least from the English perspective. John Ward commented that the Portuguese he encountered on the coast of Sierra Leone in 1582 kept the Africans 'fettered together like prisoners...eatinge there meate lyke dogs'.¹⁴⁸ Anthony Dassell, the Guinea trader, observed in 1592 that: 'it is well knowne that the Spanyards and portingulls have made Englishmen and all Christians their captives and tortured them in their gallies how much more would they use all negroes if they could'.¹⁴⁹ That said, the English approach is probably best described as pragmatic. They took Africans onboard to replace dead crew, for example, and then probably treated them no better or worse than an average cabin boy.

¹⁴⁵ *The Diary of Richard Madox*, ed. Donno, p. 191, n. 1.

¹⁴⁶ *The Diary of Richard Madox*, ed. Donno, pp. 201, 319.

¹⁴⁷ A 'blackamore of Captain Ward's' was buried in the parish of St. Mary, Dover on 23 November 1618. Appendix, Burials, no. 73. However, this was more likely to be the 'Capt. Ward of Dover' who died in March 1623: *CSPD*, 1619-1623, p. 509.

¹⁴⁸ *The Diary of Richard Madox*, ed. Donno, p. 315.

¹⁴⁹ HCA 24/59, f.29. See also Guasco, 'Free from the tyrannous Spanyard', pp. 1-22.

Atlantic Encounters

Encounters between Africans and Englishmen did not just take place in Africa. As a result of Spanish and Portuguese activities, Africans were beginning to be dispersed around the Atlantic world. The testimony of English sailors in voyage accounts shows that these Africans, or ‘Atlantic creoles’, were often encountered in the Atlantic world, and indeed taken onboard.¹⁵⁰

Francis Drake picked up an African named Diego at Nombre de Dios, Panama in 1573.

As recounted in *Sir Francis Drake Revived* (1626):

one Diego, a negro ... in the time of the first conflict came and called to our pinnaces to know whether they were Captain Drake’s? And upon answer received continued entreating to be taken onboard, though he had first three or four shot made at him, until at length they fetched him.¹⁵¹

Diego gave the English valuable information and helped them negotiate with the *Cimaroons*, runaway African slaves who had successfully set up their own communities.¹⁵² They returned to Plymouth on 9 August 1573, and Diego again accompanied him on the circumnavigation voyage of 1577-8.¹⁵³ As Nuño de Silva, a Spaniard who was captured by Drake and later set ashore at Gualtulco on 16 April 1579, related, Drake:

also carried with him, from his country, a negro, named Diego, who spoke Spanish and English, and whom he had taken prisoner from a frigate in the north [Caribbean] sea, near Nombre de Dios, about 7 or 8 years previously.¹⁵⁴

Diego’s death was described in one account of the voyage. Drake had passed the

¹⁵⁰ See p. 73 above.

¹⁵¹ *Francis Drake, Privateer: Contemporary Narratives and Documents*, ed. J. Hampden (Alabama, 1972), p.61.

¹⁵² R. Price (ed.), *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas* (3rd edition, 1996), xii.

¹⁵³ D. Wilson, *The World Encompassed: Drake’s Great Voyage, 1577-1580* (1977), p. 26; J. Sugden, *Sir Francis Drake* (rev. ed, 1996), pp. 61-3, 99.

¹⁵⁴ *New light on Drake*, ed. Nuttall, p. 302.

Magellan Straits, and landed on an island named Mocha, off the coast of Chile, to get fresh water. However, his men were interrupted and cut off by the ‘Indians’ that inhabited the island:

They hunt all our men very sore with theire arrowes, their names which went on shore were these folowing, Frances Drake, John Bruer, great Nele a dane, littell Nele a fleming, John Gripe, John Mariner, Gregory Rayment, and Diego a blackmoore wch was drakes man, of which company ii ... were intercepted by the Indians and there lost & greate Nele ye dane ... & diego ye black more died of their woundes, the rest escaped, their woundes were cured.

The margin added that ‘Nele died within 2 dayes, Diego nere ye moluccas’.¹⁵⁵ Diego’s story has been cast in a highly positive light by one of Drake’s biographers who claims that he and Diego ‘developed a close friendship’. He also points out that Diego was quite possibly ‘the first black circumnavigator’.¹⁵⁶ However it seems likely that it was Diego’s special knowledge and contacts with the *Cimaroons* that made him useful to Drake. Later, his fluency in Spanish and English, alongside his experience in long sea voyages, must have recommended him as a crew member in 1577.

But there were at least three other Africans onboard Drake’s ship when he made his voyage of circumnavigation. The first was a woman, named Maria, or possibly Francesca.¹⁵⁷ According to an anonymous account, attributed to William Legge, the ship’s steward, Drake met a Spanish ship coming from China, belonging to Don Francisco Zarate, off the coast of Nicaragua, from he took various spoils, a pilot and:

a proper negro wench called Maria, wch was afterward gotten with child between the captaine and his men pirates & sett on a small Iland to take her adventure as

¹⁵⁵ BL, Harley MS 280, f.83.

¹⁵⁶ *Francis Drake, Privateer*, ed. Hampden, p. 61. It is said that Drake named a fort he built on an island in the Gulf of San Blas ‘Fort Diego’ after his Cimaroon friend: M. Sherwood, ‘Blacks in Tudor England’, *History Today*, 53 (October 2003), p. 41.

¹⁵⁷ BL, Harley MS 280, f. 87v. has the name ‘francesca’ crossed out and ‘maria’ written above it. See below, p. 109.

shall be shewed.¹⁵⁸

This allegation was repeated by William Camden who wrote that Drake had:

purchased much blame...for having most inhumanely exposed in an island that negro or blackamore maid who had been gotten with child in his ship.¹⁵⁹

This episode makes for an interesting parallel to that of the ‘damned witch Sycorax’, mother to Caliban in Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* (1610-11), a native of Argier, who ‘was hither [to the island] brought with child,/And here was left by th’sailors.’¹⁶⁰

Was the allegation against Drake accurate? Its source was, according to J.S. Corbett, full of ‘the kind of vulgar slanders a disatisfied seaman would naturally invent’.¹⁶¹ There are two crimes alleged here: the rape and the abandonment. Was Maria impregnated onboard Drake’s ship? Legge describes her as being ‘very great’ with child by December.¹⁶² She was taken from Zarate’s ship on 4 April 1579, and left on Crab Island, Indonesia, thirty-six weeks later on 12 December.¹⁶³ Childbirth usually takes place at around forty weeks, and women rapidly gain weight in the third trimester, which begins in the twenty-ninth week of pregnancy.¹⁶⁴ Thus Maria must have been between twenty-nine and forty weeks pregnant in December. This means some possibility remains that she had conceived before joining Drake’s ship. Even if this was the case however, the suspicion that she had been procured to serve as a sexual convenience on the long voyage is inescapable.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁸ BL, Harley MS 280, ff. 86-86v.

¹⁵⁹ W. Camden, *Annales, the True and Royall History of...Elizabeth, Queene of England*, tr. A.Darcie (1625), p. 426.

¹⁶⁰ *The Tempest*, I. ii. 318-20.

¹⁶¹ J.S. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy: with a History of the Rise of England as a Maritime Power* (2 vols., 1898), II, 407.

¹⁶² BL, Harley MS 280, f. 87v.

¹⁶³ Sudgen, *Sir Francis Drake*, pp. 129, 141.

¹⁶⁴ *British Medical Association Family Health Guide*, 2nd edition, pp. 732-733.

¹⁶⁵ A similar fate no doubt awaited the woman taken aboard by the crew of the *Red Dragon* on the Guinea coast on 30 October 1586: Knutson, ‘A Caliban in St.Mildred Poultry’, p. 110, citing Huntington Library, HM 1648.

What were the circumstances of Maria's abandonment on Crab Island? Legge recounts that they:

saw a small island covered with wood whereof they thoroughly furnished their ship, at their departure Drake left behind him upon this Iland the two negroes wch he tooke at Agwatalca [Guatulco, Mexico] and likewise the negro wench ~~Francesca~~^{Maria} shee being gotten with childe in the ship, and now being very great was left here on this Iland wch Drake named the Ile ffrancisca after the ~~woman~~^{of} _{one of the ii negroe} name & here Drake quarreled with Will Legg.¹⁶⁶

It is difficult to know how to read these alterations. The original text, in which the island is named 'ffrancisca' after a woman named 'francesca' seems to make more sense than an island named 'ffrancisca' (a feminine form) after a unspecified man: 'one of the two'. Neither of the men is named at any other point in the narrative. On the other hand, the woman is named Maria earlier in this narrative and in the other sources. If any of these individuals, or the island, was truly named Francis or Francesca, it might have been in tribute to Francis Drake. The altered text reduces the importance of the woman. Had the island been named after her, we might be able to put a more positive spin on events. Perhaps, as Kelsey suggests, she was left there partly due to the dangers inherent in the long journey home for the young mother and child?¹⁶⁷

Unsurprisingly, these circumstances were not alluded to by Drake's nephew when he wrote *The World Encompassed* in 1628. The only other account of the events was that given by John Drake, Francis's cousin, to the Spaniards when he was examined on 24 March 1584 by Alonso Vera y Aragon in Santa Fé following his capture on Fenton's voyage of 1582-3. He said that 'they left the two negroes and the negress Maria, to found

¹⁶⁶ BL, Harley MS 280, f. 87v.

¹⁶⁷ H. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake: the Queen's Pirate* (1998), p. 201.

a settlement, leaving them rice, seeds, and means of making fire.’¹⁶⁸ However, Crab Island may not have been an ideal place to settle. In his second declaration, John Drake said: ‘There was no water on this island and they had to procure it from another that was large, near and inhabited, deponent does not know by what people, because he never saw them nearby’.¹⁶⁹ Drake’s evidence may be questionable, as he was only a boy of fourteen or fifteen in 1577, recounting events of some seven years previously, and he may have been protecting his cousin’s reputation.

The two ‘negro’ men that Drake left at Crab Island with Maria had also been seized en route. Legge says they were both from Guatulco, but John Drake describes ‘a negro whom they had taken at Paita and another they took at Guatulco’.¹⁷⁰ Their presence complicates the story as told by Camden. It seems to make the idea of forming a settlement slightly more plausible. It also means that Maria/Francesca was not just left alone on the island and may therefore have stood a better chance of survival. It also raises the possibility that one of the two men was the father of Maria’s child.¹⁷¹ Ultimately, this story shows a very different side to Drake to that of his relationship with Diego. While Diego, with his contacts and skills, became a valued crew member, Maria was quite literally disposable once she had served her purpose, as were the two other Africans left on Crab Island with her.

‘Negroes’ continued to appear on Drake’s ships. D.B. Quinn had shown how many

¹⁶⁸ *New Light on Drake*, ed. Nuttall, p. 32.

¹⁶⁹ *New Light on Drake*, ed. Nuttall, p. 53.

¹⁷⁰ *New Light on Drake*, ed. Nuttall, p. 31.

¹⁷¹ That said, these men may have come from completely different parts of Africa, and the three of them might not have had a language in common, though they may have communicated in Spanish.

Africans, enslaved in the Spanish Caribbean, flocked to his ships in the raid of 1586.¹⁷² The presence of Africans is also noted in a journal kept aboard the *Primrose*, one of the ships engaged in that voyage. On the sixth day of their stay at Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands in November 1585, seven hundred of Drake's men went ashore and 'tooke a Nigro to bee our guide which we brought owte of Inglande with vs that dwelte before in this Ilande'.¹⁷³ Another, or possibly the same individual, appeared at Santo Domingo where a 'Nigro boie' was sent to parley with a Spaniard, who then 'tooke his staff and ranne the boie throwghe'. Once the town was taken, two friars who had been captured in the attack were hanged 'in lew [lieu] of slainge the Nigro boie'.¹⁷⁴ The author of *A Summarie and True Discourse* told the story at greater length, highlighting that the actions of the Spanish were 'without all order or reason & contrary to that good usage wherewith we had entertained their messengers', and describes the act with much sympathy for the 'poor boy' who was: 'furiously stroke ... through the body with one of their horseman's staves, with which wound the boy returned to the Generall [Drake], and after he had declared the maner of this wrongful crueltie, died forthwith in his presence, wherewith the Generall being greatly pashioned' commanded the friars to be hanged.

The *Primrose* Journal describes another occasion, on the last day of December:

We took ii barkes at sea bownde for Saint Dominico on[e] was laden with Suger chest bordes thither with beefe & bacon, pease, Tabacco, ryse, hydes, & other stuffe, ther were ii Spanishe merchautes in them & a woman Nigro with a boie & a Greeke'.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² D.B. Quinn, 'Turks, Moors, Blacks and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage', in *Explorers and Colonies: America 1500-1625*, essays by D.B. Quinn (1990), pp. 197-204.

¹⁷³ *Drake's West Indian Voyage, 1585-6*, ed. M. Frear Keeler (Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., CXLVIII, 1981), p.189. See also Methodology, p.40; Chapter 5, p. 261.

¹⁷⁴ *Drake's West Indian Voyage, 1585-6*, ed. Keeler pp. 196, 242.

¹⁷⁵ *Drake's West Indian Voyage, 1585-6*, ed. Keeler, p. 193.

This account shows how when capturing Spanish or Portuguese ships, Englishmen encountered Africans. Unfortunately we know nothing further of this ‘Negro’ mother and child. However, on the same voyage, the keeper of the *Leicester* journal recorded:

This day the Generall caulled a courte where there were divers causes hearde & determinations for divers matters ... it was sett downe that none under the degree of ansient [ensign] should keepe a Negro or other stranger... There was allso a generall commandment gyven for the well usage of Strangers, namely Frenchmen, Turks & Negroes.¹⁷⁶

Whether we read this as confirmation that the strangers were treated well, or a hint that they were not, and so the sailors had to be admonished, is open to question.

Drake was not the only Englishman to sail with Africans onboard. In his 1596 description of his *Discoverie of Guiana*, Sir Walter Raleigh described how when he journeyed along the river Orinoco:

I had a *Negro* a very proper yoong fellow, that leaping out of the *Galley* to swim in the mouth of this riuer, was in all our sights taken and deuoured with one of those *Lagartos* [alligators].¹⁷⁷

The earl of Cumberland, like Drake, used ‘Negroes’ as messengers. In 1586, at Rio de la Plata, he ‘sent a Negro ashore, with letters from the Portugals, that wee had prisoners aboard’ and ten years later in the Azores he ‘sent a Boat off with an old Portgull, and an African of Mozambique, who bearing a flagge of truce, should give the Ilanders to understand what his Lordships pleasure was.’¹⁷⁸ Africans, with their local knowledge and language skills, could be particularly useful intermediaries in the Spanish Atlantic

¹⁷⁶ *Drake’s West Indian Voyage, 1585-6*, ed. Keeler, p. 169.

¹⁷⁷ W. Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bevvtiful Empire of Guiana* (1596), p. 48. See Chapter 3, p. 182 for the African aptitude for swimming and diving.

¹⁷⁸ Hakluyt, XI, 222; S. Purchas, *Hakluytus Postumus, or Purchas his Pilgrims* (20 vols, Hakluyt Soc., extra ser., XIV-XXXIII, 1905-7), XVI, 102-3.

world.¹⁷⁹

Although none of the Africans discussed here (apart from Diego) returned to England, we can see how Africans might have come to Britain this way. In the next chapter I will examine the cases where such encounters did bring Africans to Britain. However, all these encounters are important insofar that they tell us something about the ways in which English and Africans interacted and thought of each other. The circumstances of these first encounters undoubtedly affected the way Africans were thought of and later treated in Britain.

The emergence of English colonies, 1607-1640

The emergence of British colonies in the early seventeenth century had a profound effect on Anglo-African relations in the Atlantic world. The first attempted colony, at Roanoke in the 1580s, was a failure, but in the first half of the seventeenth century English colonies sprang up in Virginia (1607), Bermuda (1612), New England (1620), St. Kitts (1622), St. Croix (1625), Barbados (1625), Providence Island (1630), and Nevis, Antigua and Monserrat (1628-1632).¹⁸⁰ In the years before 1630, these colonies were small and constantly in danger of being wiped out by disease or by attacks from native tribes (such as the Virginia Massacre of 1622) or the Spanish (such as Providence Island in 1641). By 1630, the population of Virginia numbered some 3000, New England 1800, Bermuda 2000 and Barbados and the Leeward Isles another 3000. However, between 1630 and 1642, there was a huge wave of migration, caused in part by a mixture of religious dissent

¹⁷⁹ Guasco, 'Free from the tyrannous Spanyard', pp. 8-9.

¹⁸⁰ R. Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery, from the Baroque to the Modern 1492-1800* (1997), pp. 222-229.

and widespread promotion of the colonial ideal. In this decade over 20,000 English moved to New England under the auspices of the Massachusetts Bay Company and some 20-30,000 migrated to the Lesser Antilles.¹⁸¹

Although black labour was not predominant in these early colonies, the emergence of British bases in the Caribbean and North America meant that Africans captured at sea were more likely to be brought to work on the new colonial plantations than ferried back to England. In their recent study of the African population of the early colonial Americas, Linda Heywood and John Thornton concluded that:

During the early years of the English and Dutch colonies, the Africans who formed part of the labouring class arrived largely as a result of piracy on the high seas, as the English and Dutch attempted to wrest the Atlantic commerce and territories in the Americas from Catholic Spain and Portugal.¹⁸²

Bermuda was the first colony to receive Africans in 1616.¹⁸³ The first Africans arrived in Virginia in 1619, when a Dutch man-of-war sold 'twenty Negars' to John Rolfe at Jamestown.¹⁸⁴ These twenty were only a fraction of the one hundred Africans the Dutch ship had captured from the Spanish. Daniel Elfrith, in the *Treasurer*, sailing under a commission obtained from the duke of Savoy by Robert Rich, second earl of Warwick, took some of the remaining Africans to Bermuda.¹⁸⁵ As John Dutton reported to Warwick on 20 January 1620, 'Mr Daniel Elfred, after having done some exploit (undoubtedly on

¹⁸¹ A. McFarlane, *The British in the Americas 1480-1815* (1994), p.49.

¹⁸² L.M. Heywood and J.K. Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660* (2007), p.8.

¹⁸³ Morgan, 'British Encounters with Africans and African Americans', p.169; V. Bernhard, 'Beyond the Chesapeake: The contrasting status of Blacks in Bermuda, 1616-1663', *Journal of Southern History*, 54 (1988), pp.545-564.

¹⁸⁴ I. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: the first two centuries of slavery in North America* (1998), p.29; E. Sluiter, 'New Light on the "20 and Odd Negroes" Arriving in Virginia, August 1619', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 54 (1997), pp. 396-398; J. K. Thornton, 'The African Experience of the "20 and Odd Negroes" Arriving in Virginia in 1619', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 55 (1998), pp. 421-434.

¹⁸⁵ K. O. Kupperman, 'Elfrith, Daniel (fl. 1607-1640)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/72608>, accessed 16 Feb 2008]

the Spaniards) had brought twenty-nine negroes and some provisions from Virginia'.¹⁸⁶ Nathaniel Butler, the governor of Bermuda, later wrote to the earl in October that he had been 'informed by divers of the *Treasurer*'s men that half of those 14 negroes came in the frigate were never of the *Treasurer*'s company, but were stolen from one Youpe a Dutchman.' In January 1621, he wrote to Nathaniel Rich that 'were it not for the accidental negroes, not a pound of tobacco could be raised', and that 'the slaves were the most proper and chief instruments for this plantation and not safe to be anywhere but under the Governor's eye.'¹⁸⁷ Warwick's privateering ships continued to supply the colony with labour in this manner. In July 1634, Warwick wrote to Hugh Wentworth, his agent in Bermuda, that he wanted 'my negroes' best placed 'with regard to my profit'.¹⁸⁸ Other colonies also benefited from the actions of privateers in this fashion. The 1625 census in Virginia listed 'Angelo a Negro woman from the Treasurer'.¹⁸⁹ In 1627, when Captain Henry Powell brought some of the first settlers to Barbados, he also brought ten enslaved Africans that had been captured from a Portuguese ship en route.¹⁹⁰ In 1628, 100 Africans were captured from a Spanish ship and taken to Virginia by the *Good Fortune* of London, where they were exchanged for tobacco.¹⁹¹

It took time nonetheless for the African population in the English colonies to grow to

¹⁸⁶ *Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (1881), Part II, p.34 b; *The Rich Papers: Letters from Bermuda, 1615-1646*, ed. V.A. Ives, (Toronto, 1984), p.141.

¹⁸⁷ *Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, Part II, pp. 35b, 37a; *Rich Papers*, ed. Ives, pp. 187-8, 229; A. Thrush, 'Butler, Nathaniel (b. 1577, d. in or after 1643)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2958>, accessed 17 Feb 2008]

¹⁸⁸ K.O. Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630-1641: the Other Puritan Colony* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 149.

¹⁸⁹ TNA CO 1/3, f.24; See also Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles and the Foundation of the Americas*, pp. 5-9; A.T. Vaughan, 'Blacks in Virginia: A Note on the First Decade', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 29, no. 3 (July 1972), p. 474.

¹⁹⁰ C. and R. Bridenbaugh, *No Peace Beyond the Line: The English in the Caribbean, 1624-1690* (New York, 1972), p. 32; Gragg, *Englishmen Transplanted*, pp. 31,117.

¹⁹¹ *CSPD*, 1628-1629, p.107; TNA SP 14/215, f.75: Edward Nicholas to Mr Oliver, 10 May 1628.

large numbers. In 1638, the population of Barbados was 6000, of whom 2000 were indentured servants and only 200 were African slaves.¹⁹² Only one out of three migrants to the English Americas was an African slave in the 1650s. By 1700, however, the proportion had increased to three in four.¹⁹³ The earliest indication of the proportions that were to become the norm came when the Spanish invaded Providence Island in 1641, capturing 350 English and 381 Africans.¹⁹⁴

Once Africans became present in the British colonies, it was logical that some of them would find their way to Britain. This was to become the most common route by which Africans came to Britain in the eighteenth century.¹⁹⁵ However, in this early period, some Africans may have travelled in the opposite direction, from England to the colonies. The Musters of the inhabitants of Virginia in February 1625 include ‘Antonio, a negro’ who arrived on the *James* in 1621, ‘Mary, negro woman’ on the *Margaret & John*, 1622 and ‘John Pedro, negro’ on the *Swan* in 1623.¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, various Africans attested in the Virginian courts that they had come from England. ‘John Philip A Negro Christened in England 12 yeers since’ testified in 1624. A man named Fernando argued in 1667 that he had lived in England for many years before coming to Virginia and that he should ‘serve no more than any Englishman’.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹² Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, p. 230.

¹⁹³ D. Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas*, (2000), p. 49.

¹⁹⁴ Kupperman, *Providence Island*, p. 172.

¹⁹⁵ K. Chater, *Untold Histories: Black People in England and Wales During the Period of the Slave Trade, c.1660-1807* (Manchester, 2009), p. 31.

¹⁹⁶ P.W. Coldham, *The Complete Book of Emigrants, 1607-1660: a Comprehensive Listing Compiled from English Public Records of Those who Took Ship to the Americas for Political, Religious, and Economic Reasons; of Those who were Deported for Vagrancy, Roguery, or Non-conformity; and of Those who were Sold to Labour in the New Colonies* (Baltimore, 1987), pp. 62, 67. Though these Africans could possibly have joined ship en route, in the same way that Angelo came to be on board the *Treasurer*. See above, p. 115.

¹⁹⁷ Thornton and Heywood, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles and the Foundation of the Americas*, p. 320.

The status of Africans in these colonies was far from clear until at least 1660. Africans still worked on British ships. In 1625 a 'negro called by the name of brase' helped one Captain Jones work his ship from the West Indies to Virginia.¹⁹⁸ Jack, an African who arrived in Charles City County, Virginia, in about 1636, possessed a contract proving his status as an indentured servant, not a slave.¹⁹⁹ Anthony Johnson, a black man living on Virginia's Eastern shore in the 1650s was a free man, and owned his own slaves.²⁰⁰ The legislation that solidified the servile status of blacks in the 1660s suggests that inter-racial marriages had taken place, and that freedom could be acquired through baptism, in the period before it was passed.²⁰¹ However, there were some earlier hints of what was to come. In 1633, the Providence Island company reacted strongly to the anti-slavery protests of Samuel Rishworth, which had encouraged some Africans to run away, and stated that slavery was lawful for persons 'during their strangeness to Christianity', but urged the planters (in vain) to make no further purchases.²⁰² In Barbados in 1636, Governor Henry Hawley and his council ruled that 'Negros and Indians that came here to be sold should serve for Life, unless a contract was before made to the contrary.'²⁰³ In 1641 in Massachusetts, it was resolved:

There shall never be any Bond Slavery, Villeinage or Captivity amongst us, unless it be lawful Captives in Just Wars (and such strangers) as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us, and such shall have the liberties and Christian usage

¹⁹⁸ Bolster, *Black Jacks*, p. 9. See Chapter 3, p. 183-4 for more on African sailors.

¹⁹⁹ He may have come from England. Thornton and Heywood, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles and the Foundation of the Americas*, p. 320.

²⁰⁰ T.H. Breen and S. Innes, 'Myne Owne Ground': *race and freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676* (Oxford, 1980).

²⁰¹ A.L. Higginbotham, *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process: the Colonial Period* (Oxford, 1978), especially pp. 32-40.

²⁰² Kupperman, *Providence Island*, p. 168; Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, p. 226.

²⁰³ Bridenbaugh, *No Peace Beyond the Line*, p. 32; Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, p. 235; H. Beckles, *White servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados* (Knoxville, 1989), p. 31.

which the law of God established in Israel concerning such persons doth morally require.²⁰⁴

In 1646, some Africans who claimed to have been abducted were sent home to Guinea.²⁰⁵

In 1652, Rhode Island ruled that neither ‘black mankind nor white’ were to be held in servitude for over ten years.²⁰⁶ In Barbados deeds and wills from 1627 to 1641, only one of the 557 labourers mentioned was listed as a slave. Between 1642 and 1660, in contrast, three-quarters of the 4,204 labourers were noted as slaves.²⁰⁷ The ambiguity of African status in the early years of British colonisation suggests that black slavery had not previously been normalised in English society, and that at the very least, we should expect to find a similar ambiguity in Britain.

Conclusion

The international context changed considerably over the course of the period 1500 to 1640. In 1500, England was a weak kingdom, just recovering from civil war, with no overseas trade outside Europe, and seeking a marital alliance with the stronger Spain. Over the course of the sixteenth century, the power of Spain grew, reaching its height after the annexation of Portugal and her empire in 1580. However, the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, and, more devastatingly, the rise of the Dutch, as demonstrated by their victories such as the taking of Elmina in 1637, signalled a shift of power in the Atlantic world. Further, by 1640, the English had begun to found their own colonies in the Americas. It was perhaps because of these seismic shifts in power that the English,

²⁰⁴ Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, p. 239. For ‘the law of God’ on slavery see Exod. xxi. 1-11; Lev. xxv.39-46 and Deut. xv.12-18.

²⁰⁵ *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, ed. E. Donnan (4 vols., Washington D.C., 1930-1935), II, p. 8.

²⁰⁶ Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, p. 239.

²⁰⁷ Gragg, *Englishmen Transplanted*, p. 119.

and to a lesser extent the Scottish, came to encounter Africa and Africans. It was the Portuguese example that led them to the coast of Africa in search of gold and other exotic goods, and the Spanish empire that they sought to emulate when founding their first colonies. The period then saw English trade with Africa increase from nothing to regular trade with Barbary and Guinea, operated by patented companies with resident factors in Marrakesh and their own fortress at Kormantin. Diplomacy developed alongside trade. This increasing contact shows that at this stage, Africans were viewed as trading partners and allies rather than sub-human potential slaves. It also shows how Africans might arrive in England: some as ambassadors, others as crew. Indeed, voyage accounts tell of various encounters with Africans on the African coast and in the wider Atlantic world. We can see from these interactions how some might come to Britain, and also how these individual Africans were treated and regarded. This varied from situation to situation, but an underlying thread of pragmatism runs through them all. Finally, it was the establishment of English colonies in the seventeenth century that was to have the biggest impact on Anglo-African relations. Once the labour requirements and pressures of those new colonial societies became clear, Africans in the Atlantic world were viewed primarily as potential slaves. However, before that, in the period 1500-1640, a more nuanced variety of encounters took place, some of which resulted in Africans coming to Britain, though not as slaves.

Chapter 2: How Africans came to Britain

It has often been supposed that Africans came to Britain solely as a result of English involvement in the slave trade.¹ However, this supposition does not stand up to serious interrogation. First, Africans were present from the earliest years of the sixteenth century, which does not fit with the chronology of English slave trading activity, which began with John Hawkins' voyages in the 1560s, but thereafter was not revived until 1641.² Secondly, successful slave trading would result in Africans arriving in the Americas, not in England. Furthermore, the chronology of the black presence in Britain does not fit neatly with the history of English trade in Africa. Neither can the increasing level of trade with Africa from the 1550s onwards fully account for the increasing numbers. Trade may have necessitated a handful of interpreters to be trained, but not much more. We must therefore look closely at the chronology of the black presence, in order to explain it better. The numbers of Africans in Britain fluctuates over the period. There are records of at least 5 Africans in England and at least 9 in Scotland before 1550.³ The number of records mentioning Africans in England rises to: 3 1551-1560, 11 1561-1570, 13 1571-1580, 35 1581-1590, 73 1591-1600, 45 1601-1610, 44 1611-1620, 27 1621-1630, and 30 1631-1640.⁴ Strikingly, the number of records peaks in the period 1588-1604, the dates of the war with Spain, with 104 entries in my Appendix. However, there is no similar peak in 1625-1630, when Spain became the enemy once more.⁵ This chapter seeks to explain

¹Introduction, p. 5.

²Chapter 1, p. 84, n. 45.

³England: Appendix, Burials, no. 1; Court Records, nos. 1,2; Diaries and Letters, no. 1; Tax Returns, no. 1; Household Accounts nos. 72, 83-85, 88; Scotland: Introduction, p. 21, n. 78.

⁴Only three individuals have been found in Scotland after 1550: Nageir the Moir, Anne of Denmark's Moir and Harry Domingo of Aberdeen: Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 99-101, 112, 113, Church and Municipal Accounts, nos. 7, 8.

⁵There are only 14 entries in the period 1625-30. So there were more than twice as many records on a yearly basis in 1588-1604 as in 1625-30.

these patterns and to explore the actual routes by which Africans arrived in Britain in the years 1500 to 1640.

The primary evidence of the black presence in Britain yields little explicit explanation of how the individuals in question came to these shores. Most do not even provide any direct indication of where the Africans came from, or are as vague as William Dunbar's 1507 poem to 'ane blak moir ... that landet furth from the last schippis'.⁶ There are some exceptions. Philip White alias Haumath, is described as a 'barbarian moore', which, along with his name, suggests he was of North African origin, from 'Barbary'. 'Mary Phyllis of Morisco' was possibly also from Morocco. The names of captives from Morocco and Algiers listed in 1627, such as 'Abdalla sonne of Hassan', 'Solyman sonne of Mahamet' or 'Umbarac sonne of Ally' also relect their North African, Islamic heritage.⁷ Symon Valencia might have come to England via Valencia in Spain. African names which have made it into the English archival record include Cavandigoe, Cassangoe, Masouta, Dederi Jacquoah, Anberey, Ongunby, Ffageamy, Munsur and Salle. This last name 'Salle', recorded in Limehouse in 1602, suggests that Burke came from Salé, off the coast of Morocco, the base of the notorious 'Sally' pirates.⁸ Christopher Cappervert, John Morockoe and Christian Ethiopia all also have African place names as their surnames. But while we might guess that Christopher was from the Cape Verde islands, John was from Morocco and Christian from Ethiopia, we are still far from

⁶ *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. James Kinsley (Oxford, 1979), p. 106.

⁷ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 24. As these are lists of 'Turkes and Moores' from Morocco and Algiers, it is not certain whether they were all African.

⁸ Chapter 1, p. 98.

certain, especially in the last, as ‘Ethiopia’ was a very general term at this time.⁹ Neither do we learn from these records how these individuals came to Britain.

However, by extrapolating from the cases where we do know what happened, and by considering the types of households in which Africans appear and the likely routes they may have taken to get here, we can begin to build a more detailed picture. As we saw in Chapter 1, by the sixteenth century, primarily due to the activities of the Spanish and the Portuguese, the African diaspora had spread to Southern Europe and the Caribbean. Therefore, Africans need not have come to Britain directly from Africa. Africans came from Europe in royal retinues, and as servants to nobles and foreign merchants. For a century after the English began trading with Africa in the mid-sixteenth century, small groups of Africans were brought back to learn English and then returned to Africa as interpreters and trade factors. Others were brought to England on pirate ships. Voyages to the Caribbean such as those undertaken by Drake and Hawkins also resulted in Africans coming to England. There is also evidence of privateers capturing Africans along with gold and sugar onboard Spanish and Portuguese prize ships, activity which peaked during the war with Spain between 1588 and 1604. Various individuals who invested in privateering voyages or were involved, as customs officials, in the business of disposing of prize goods had Africans in their households, and it seems most likely that they arrived there as a result of these privateering voyages. Thus the idea that Africans could only come to Britain as a result of slave trading is unfounded. Of course, once the colonies became established, a new route whereby Africans might arrive in Britain emerged. However in the earlier period, they came via Europe, Africa and the Spanish Atlantic

⁹ See Methodology, p. 59.

world.

Africans from Europe

As we saw in Chapter 1, there were substantial black populations in Italy, Spain and Portugal at this time.¹⁰ While Africans might have come to Britain independently from Europe, their journeys are more visible when they travelled in the entourages of princes, with individuals who had travelled to those countries, or with merchants from those countries who subsequently settled in Britain.

Royal entourages

Royal marriages could result in Africans coming to Britain with the foreign spouse. It seems that Katherine of Aragon brought African attendants with her to England when she came to marry Prince Arthur in 1501. A list ‘of the officers and servants who are to remain’ with Katherine of Aragon in England, sent from Ferdinand and Isabella to the resident Spanish ambassador Dr De Puebla with a letter of 3 October 1500, included ‘two slaves to attend on the maids of honour’.¹¹ It is not entirely clear whether the persons listed here were those who actually arrived with Katherine in 1501, as in De Puebla’s reply of 27 December, he explains that Henry VII had reduced the numbers of attendants, explaining that ‘The Princess will be better and more respectfully attended by English ladies and gentlemen than ever Princess has been served before’. Queen Isabella comments that those remaining on the list are ‘very few’, in her letter of 23 March

¹⁰ Chapter 1, p. 73-4.

¹¹ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 1.

1501.¹² Nor is it certain that persons described as ‘slaves’ were African. However, Katherine certainly had a maid of honour who was of Moorish extraction, named Catalina de Cardones, and John Blanke, the black trumpeter who served at the courts of Henry VII and Henry VIII might also have come from Spain with Katherine.¹³ Imtiaz Habib finds confirmation that some Africans arrived with Katherine in a letter written in November 1501 by Thomas More to John Holt (a schoolmaster at Chichester Cathedral school who would later tutor the young Henry VIII in grammar) describing her entry into London, in which he describes the Spanish retinue as ‘laceri, nudipedes pigmei Ethiopes’ – hunchbacked, barefoot Ethiopian pigmies.¹⁴ This however, could be a rhetorical exaggeration, commenting on the darker features of Spaniards, rather than an accurate identification of Africans. The other eyewitness accounts only mention that the Spanish women were ‘not of the fairest’.¹⁵ Ultimately, given that her mother Queen Isabella was personally involved in the importation of slaves to Spain from Africa, it seems plausible that Katherine brought some to England in her retinue.¹⁶

Similarly, when Philip II of Spain came to London in 1554 to marry Mary Tudor, many Spaniards accompanied him.¹⁷ Amongst this throng of Spaniards was at least one African. Henry Machyn’s diary of 1554 records:

¹² CSPS, 1485-1509, pp. 252, 254.

¹³ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 72, 83-85, 88; Diaries and Letters, no. 1; Chapter 3, p. 165, Chapter 5, p. 269.

¹⁴ BL Arundel 249, f. 85v; *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More*, ed. E. Rogers (Princeton, 1947), pp. 3-4; Habib Index, no. 5. N. Orme, ‘Holt, John (d. 1504)’, *ODNB* [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/13617>], accessed 27 June 2011].

¹⁵ *Chronicles of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Derby 1977), p. 334 and *The Receyt of the Lady Kataryne*, ed. G. Kipling (Oxford, 1990), p. 33; Habib Index, nos. 6, 7.

¹⁶ P. Russell, ‘Veni, Vidi, Vici: Some fifteenth-century eyewitness accounts of travel in the African Atlantic before 1492’, *Historical Research*, 66 (1993), p. 120.

¹⁷ D. Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor*, 2nd ed. (1992), p. 159.

The iiij day of November be-gane a grett fray at Charyng crosse at viij of the cloke at nyght be-twyn the Spaneardes and Englysmen, the wyche through wysdom ther wher but a fuwe hort [hurt], and after the next day thay wher serten taken that be-gane yt; on was a blake-mor, and was brought a-for the hed offesers by the knyght-marshall's servandes.¹⁸

The 'blake-mor' was amongst those identified as the instigators of this fray between Spaniards and Englishmen. Such fights were common. One Spaniard reported in October 1554 that: 'There are slashings and quarrels every day between Englishmen and Spaniards.'¹⁹ No doubt partly due to this tension, most of the Spaniards who came to England with Philip in 1554 had returned to Spain by December.²⁰ Therefore, this 'blake-mor', if he survived his arrest, may have returned with them.²¹

Another royal to come to Britain accompanied by African servants was Don Antonio, the prior of Crato, pretender to the Portuguese throne, who first came to London in July 1581.²² In February 1586, his household list included 'Cozinti, mor' and 'Pedro Fernandes mulato'.²³ He also had an African woman living in his household, as we find

¹⁸ *The Diary of Henry Machyn: Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London (1550-1563)* ed. J.G. Nicholls (Camden Soc., 1st ser., XLII, 1848), p. 74.

¹⁹ M.A.S. Hume, 'The Visit of Philip II', *The English Historical Review*, 7, no. 26 (Apr., 1892), p. 279; Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor*, pp. 160-163; J. F. Merritt, *The social world of early modern Westminster: Abbey, court and community, 1525-1640* (2005), p. 56.

²⁰ Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor*, p. 207, n. 48.

²¹ S.R. Maitland suggested in 1849 that the men arrested in November might have been hanged on 26 April, referring to the entry of that date in Machyn's diary. However, as the men executed in April had robbed gold from Westminster Abbey, it seems unlikely. S.R. Maitland, *Essays on Subjects Connected with the Reformation in England* (1849), p. 523; *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, ed. Nicholls, p.86.

²² He had Africans in his household in Portugal. See Chapter 3, p. 175.

²³ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 108, 109; Tenison suggested that this 'Pedro Fernandes mulato' might have been the 'Portuguese... a tall mulatto whose name I have not yet learnt' of whose arrival in England with letters 'to beg of this Queen to send aid for the holding of the Isle of Terceira in the interests of Don Antonio' Don Bernardino de Mendoza wrote to Philip II about on 7 May 1581. Although Mendoza writes again on 12 May that 'The Portuguese who I informed your Majesty by special courier on the 7th had arrived from the Azores, have gone to France to convey to Count Vimioso the decision arrived at by the Queen and ministers respecting the succor of Terceira, which is being pushed forward with frantic haste', it is possible that the mulatto, who was clearly closely involved with Don Antonio, returned to England with him later that year, and was still with him in 1586. E.M. Tenison, *Elizabethan England: Being the History of this Country in Relation to all Foreign Princes from Original Manuscripts*, (13 vols., Leamington Spa,

‘Katherin the negar dwelling with the prince of Portingal’ buried at St. Stephen, Coleman Street in August 1594.²⁴ Thus, we can account for the arrival of small numbers of Africans in England through their presence in the households of Spanish and Portuguese royals. However, this was an infrequent and haphazard occurrence, the result of marriage or exile.

In other cases, we seem to know more about Africans travelling to Europe from a royal court than vice-versa. Two of the Africans at the Scottish court had French connections, which suggest that they may have come to Scotland via France. In May 1501, 5 French crowns were ‘giffin to Petir the Moryen, quhen he passit his way in France be the Kingis command’.²⁵ This favoured courtier seems to have spent the next two years in France as he is not mentioned again until January 1504.²⁶ The second case is that of ‘Nageir the Moor’, who travelled to France after the funeral of his master regent James Stewart, Earl of Moray in 1570. Interspersed with more usual funeral expenses lie a series of payments that provide for the journey of one Pierre Antoine, a French dwarf, and ‘the Meir at their departing to France’. Payment is also made in advance for their accommodation in ‘Jhone Mych Cullowis’ from 27 January to 26 April, presumably while they were waiting to depart, and for their transport and victuals from Leith to Dieppe.²⁷ Moray had been in France for much of the 1550s, and had gone there again from April to July 1567, passing

1933), VII, 204; *CSPS*, 1580-1586, pp. 114, 116.

²⁴ Appendix, Burials, no. 30; Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 84 infers that Don Antonio was living in Windsor House, London, however in 1593 he was living in Windsor, Berkshire: G. Goodman, *The Court of King James the First*, ed. J.S. Brewer (2 vols, 1839), I, 152; *CSPS*, 1580-86, p. 650.

²⁵ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 3.

²⁶ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 4.

²⁷ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 100.

through Dieppe amongst other places.²⁸ Perhaps he brought Nageir and Pierre Antoine back with him from this trip.²⁹

The More taubronar, or drummer, at the court of James IV of Scotland is often mentioned in the accounts in conjunction with four Italian minstrels.³⁰ Perhaps he came to Scotland with them. Imtiaz Habib makes the suggestion that ‘this appearance of black people in Scotland is the result of James’s English marriage’.³¹ However I would argue that the relatively large presence of Africans at the Scottish court of James IV is in fact testament to the relative sophistication, and international outlook of late medieval Scotland in comparison to England. In this respect, James’s court looks more like those of his European contemporaries in Spain, Portugal and Italy than that of Henry VII.

With aristocrats and gentlemen

Royals were not the only people to bring Africans with them to Britain. In the seventeenth century, there is some evidence of individual gentlemen and ladies returning from their travels with an African in tow. In 1621, a five year old child named Maria was baptized at St. Martin in the Fields, Westminster. She was very dark - ‘valde nigra’ - and born in Barbary, but had been taken to London from Spain by Endymion Porter: ‘adducta in Anglia ex Hispania’.³² Endymion Porter was a courtier of James I and later Charles I. His family had strong links with Spain, and he had served as a member of the Duke of

²⁸ M. Loughlin, ‘Stewart, James, first earl of Moray (1531/2–1570)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26479>, accessed 18 March 2008]

²⁹ The French had been trading to West Africa since the 1520s, and Africans were brought to France in the second half of the 16th century: W.B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans: White Responses to Blacks 1530-1880* (Indiana, 1980), p. 5.

³⁰ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 20-22, 25-27.

³¹ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 37.

³² Appendix, Baptisms, no. 43.

Olivares' household from 1605 to 1607. He went on to work for William Calley, an English merchant, in Madrid until 1612. In October 1622, he was sent to Spain on a diplomatic mission.³³ Neither of these recorded trips to Spain fits in perfectly with the timing of Maria's baptism. She was only born in 1616, so could not be a product of the first trip, and was already in London by the time Porter went back to Spain in 1622. Thus, either he went there at another, unrecorded, time, or one of his agents or contacts may have brought Maria to London on his behalf.

In one case, it is quite clear that the African in question came from Italy with her mistress. In July 1623, John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton:

The Countesse of Arundell is now upon her returne for she hath sent some forerunners before, three Italian massaras (whereof one is a blackamore) and a Gondola, which I doubt will not so well brooke our river, where there is commonly so much winde.³⁴

Aletheia Howard, Countess of Arundel (d.1654) is thought to have acquired these servants in Venice, where she had been living since 1620.³⁵ David Howarth has suggested that it is this 'blackamore' who is depicted in Van Dyck's *Portrait of George Gage with Two Attendants*, and *The Continnence of Scipio*.³⁶ However, the word 'massara' is the feminine form of 'massaro', an Italian word meaning servant, so Lady Arundel's black servant was a woman, and therefore unrelated to the man depicted by Van Dyck.

As Chamberlain reported from London, the 'blackamore' presumably arrived at Arundel

³³ R.G. Asch, 'Porter, Endymion (1587–1649)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22562>, accessed 2 Jan 2008].

³⁴ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 20.

³⁵ M. DiMeo, 'Howard, Aletheia, countess of Arundel, of Surrey, and of Norfolk, and suo jure Baroness Furnivall, Baroness Talbot, and Baroness Strange of Blackmere (d. 1654)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/94252>, accessed 29 March 2008]; D. Howarth, 'The Patronage and Collecting of Aletheia, countess of Arundel, 1606–54', *Journal of Historical Collections*, 10 (1998), p. 130.

³⁶ D. Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his circle* (1985), pp. 158, 196, 242. The National Gallery, London [<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/anthony-van-dyck-portrait-of-george-gage-with-two-attendants>, accessed 26 September 2011]; Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford [<http://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/gallery/patrons>, accessed 26 September 2011]

House, and remained a member of the Arundel household.

The Arundel case may throw some light on the much earlier presence of an African in the household of Andrew Forman, bishop of Moray in 1512.³⁷ Later Archbishop of St. Andrews, Forman had also served as a diplomat for James IV. It is possible that he brought this 'more' back from his embassy to Venice in 1511.³⁸

With foreign merchants

The presence of Africans in the households of Italian, Spanish and Portuguese merchants suggests that they too came from Europe with their masters.³⁹ This can be observed in London, and also within the Italian community in Southampton.⁴⁰ Jacques Frances, who testified before the High Court of Admiralty in 1548, had been in Southampton for at least three years, and had been working for Piero Pauli Corsi, a Venetian salvage operator, since 1546. He was twenty years old and born in 'Insula de Gynney', probably Arguin island, off the coast of Mauritania: a key Portuguese trading post.⁴¹ While he had therefore not come to Southampton with his current master, it seems likely that he would have journeyed there with another Italian, or even Venetian merchant.⁴²

³⁷ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 90.

³⁸ C.A. McGladdery, 'Forman, Andrew (c.1465–1521)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9883>, accessed 28 March 2008]

³⁹ L. Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Among Us: Policies, Perceptions and Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England* (1996), p. 14, analysing the records from March 1567, describes the alien population of London as: 74.5% Dutch, 15.5% French, 6.5% Mediterranean, 3.5% other.

⁴⁰ Maria Moriana, servant to a Genoese merchant in Southampton in the 1470s, identified as 'Moorish' by G. Ungerer, could be another example: G. Ungerer, 'Recovering a Black African's Voice in an English Lawsuit: Jacques Francis and the Salvage Operations of the Mary Rose and the Sancta Maria and Sanctus Edwardus, 1545-ca 1550', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 17 (Madison, NJ, 2005), p. 261. However the original document does not record her ethnicity: TNA C1/148/67; A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600* (Southampton, 1951), p. 127; Chapter 5, pp. 273-4.

⁴¹ Appendix, Court Records, nos. 1, 2.

⁴² For Africans in Italy, see Chapter 1, p. 74.

In London too, we find Africans in the households of foreign merchants. In 1567, 'Francys Fran', a 'Moryon', was 'living in the house of' Italian Peter Fanall in Bishopsgate Ward, London, while in Vintry Ward 'Robert Tego, a Morisco' or 'Moore' served Spaniard Thomas Castlyn.⁴³ A few years later, from 1576 to 1583, an African named Ferdinando was living with a Spanish merchant named John Baptista San Vitores in All Saints Stainings parish, in Langbourne Ward in the City of London. San Vitores was born in Spain, but had been in England since 1551, and was an established member of the foreign merchant community, and a denizen.⁴⁴

There were also Africans living amongst the small community of Portuguese *conversos* in London, mostly in Tower Ward.⁴⁵ The Jews had fled Portugal initially for the Netherlands, but in 1549, Charles V had issued a decree that all 'New Christians' should quit Antwerp.⁴⁶ Some came to London. Both Hector Nunes and his brother in law Ferdinando Alvarez employed black servants. In 1576, 'Elizabeth a neger' was listed amongst eight 'seruants to Mr Farnando' in Tower Ward. By 1582-3, Alvarez himself was listed as part of Nunes's household, as was Elizabeth and a second black woman,

⁴³ Appendix, Tax Returns, no. 2.

⁴⁴ Appendix, Tax Returns, nos. 5, 6. This identification of San Vitores is more conclusive than Habib's conjecture that he 'may be of Italian or Iberian extraction': *Black Lives*, p. 80. A denizen was an alien admitted to citizenship by royal letters patent, but incapable of inheriting, or holding any public office. 'denizen, n.', *OED* [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2277/view/Entry/49985>, accessed 28 July 2011]

⁴⁵ L. Wolf, 'Jews in Elizabethan England' *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 11 (1926), pp. 1-91; E. Samuel, 'London's Portuguese Jewish Communities 1540-1753' in R. Vigne and C. Littleton (ed.), *From Strangers to Citizens: the Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750* (2001), pp. 239-246.

⁴⁶ Wolf, 'Jews in Elizabethan England' p. 9. In this year, Hector Nunes is first recorded as living in Mark Lane. There is also evidence of black servants in the households of Portuguese *conversos* in Amsterdam: P. Enmer, 'History of the Dutch Slave Trade', *Journal of Economic History*, 32 (1972), p. 729, n. 5. A. Blakely, *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society* (1994), p. 226, claims that the black population of Antwerp was second only to Lisbon in the 16th century.

‘Gratia’, or Grace.⁴⁷ This was probably the ‘Grace a nigro out of Doctor Hector’s’ buried at St. Olave Hart Street in July 1590. ‘Mary a blackamore from Doctor Hector’s’ was buried in the same parish in January 1588.⁴⁸ Nunes also had a nameless ‘Ethiopian Negar’ in his household in 1587, though as he ‘refused to tarry and serve’ him, he may not have been part of the household for long.⁴⁹ Mention was made of ‘blackmores’ ‘kept’ by Ferdinando Alvarez in a lawsuit that was waged between Dr. Hector Nunes, Andrew Broome and Mrs. Mary May from 1588-1596.⁵⁰ Two other Portuguese *conversos* had African servants. Jeronimo Lopez, cousin to the better-known Dr. Rodrigo Lopez, who was executed for a plot on the Queen’s life in 1594, had ‘a blackamore servaunt’ in All Hallows, Barking in 1599.⁵¹ In 1611, ‘the blackamore gerl from Mr.Pinto’s’ was buried at St Olave, Hart Street.⁵² Francis Pinto, a merchant born in Lisbon, had lived in Oporto and Amsterdam before coming to London around 1608, where he died in 1618.⁵³ The girl therefore probably accompanied him on this journey and was then living in his house in London for some three years between their arrival and her death.

In some of these cases, it becomes clear that the Africans actually arrived in the households of their foreign merchant masters some years after the merchant had arrived in England. For example, Francis Fran arrived in England some 25 years after his master Peter Fanall. This is explained by the fact that these men, by definition of their trade,

⁴⁷ Appendix, Tax Returns, nos. 4, 7.

⁴⁸ Appendix, Burials, nos. 12,16.

⁴⁹ For more on the ‘Ethiopian Negar’ see Chapter 5, pp. 274-6.

⁵⁰ Appendix, Court Records, no. 15. For more detail see Chapter 4, pp. 256-7.

⁵¹ Appendix, Tax Returns, no. 14; Wolf, ‘Jews in Elizabethan England’, p. 17; E. Samuel, *At the Ends of the Earth: Essays on the History of the Jews of England and Portugal* (2006), pp. 133, 137, 143-4, 148, 173.

⁵² Appendix, Burials, no. 60.

⁵³ Samuel, ‘London’s Portuguese Jewish Community, 1540-1753’, p. 240, and p.245, n. 18 and 19. See also E.Samuel, ‘Portuguese Jews in Jacobean London’, *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 18 (1953-55), pp. 181, 185-7.

retained links with their home countries. Hector Nunes's overseas trade network was so extensive that Burghley and Walsingham used him to convey and receive intelligence.⁵⁴

Thus, Africans came to England via Europe: in royal entourages; with aristocrats and gentry or with foreign merchants. The numbers involved were relatively small, but these vignettes begin to explain the presence of Africans in England before the advent of a regular trade with Africa. Through Britain's connections with Europe, more particularly southern Europe, which had a growing black population, Africans came to Britain.

From Africa

Once English ships began to haunt the coasts of Africa from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, Africans were brought to these shores directly, without European mediation. They were primarily brought home by merchants, who kept them in their households long enough for them to learn English before being returned home to act as interpreters on future trading voyages. Sometimes, as we saw in Chapter 1, Africans were taken onboard to replace members of the crew who had died.⁵⁵ The casual nature of references to Africans onboard English ships in contemporary voyage accounts suggests that their presence there was not thought unusual. There were, however, occasional seizures, and more erratically, English piratical activity off the African coasts would also occasionally result in Africans being brought to England.

Trade factors and Interpreters

⁵⁴ *CSPS*, 1587-1603, p. 221.

⁵⁵ See Chapter 1, p. 105.

Africans were brought to England by traders to Morocco, Guinea, and latterly members of the East India Company, who called at 'Saldania' (Table Bay, South Africa) en route to the East. They were to be trained as trade factors and interpreters. In 1582, Edward Fenton was given instructions to 'settle...a beginning of a further trade', by bringing back 'some fewe men, and women if you may' from his travels for training as agents, leaving Englishmen 'for pledges, and to learne the tongue and secrets of the Countries'.⁵⁶ This hostage-exchange strategy followed the standard Portuguese practice of acquiring Africans who could be taught Portuguese and act as interpreters.⁵⁷ It was also deployed by the English in the Americas.⁵⁸

The first and best known case of this practice occurred in 1555, when merchant John Lok brought five Africans from Shama in modern day Ghana to London.⁵⁹ They were described by Richard Eden as: certaine black slaves, whereof some were tall and strong men, and could wel agree with our meates and drinckes' although 'the coulde and moyst ayer dooth sumwhat offende them'.⁶⁰ They presumably stayed at Lok's London house, where they were 'well used, and were there kept till they could speake the language, and then they should be brought again to be a helpe to Englishmen in this Countrey', according to William Towerson, a Guinea trader, who took three of them, including one

⁵⁶ *The Troublesome Voyage of Captain Edward Fenton, 1582-1583: Narratives and Documents*, ed. E.R.G. Taylor (Hakluyt Soc. 2nd ser., CXIII, Cambridge, 1959), p. 56.

⁵⁷ W. MacGaffey, 'Dialogues of the deaf: Europeans on the Atlantic coast of Africa', in S.B. Schwartz ed., *Implicit Understandings: observing, reporting and reflecting on the encounters between Europeans and other peoples in the early modern era* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 253.

⁵⁸ A.T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 11-12, 22-24, 32, 35.

⁵⁹ This case has been cited by many historians as the 'first' Africans to come to England: K.L. Little, *Negroes in Britain; a Study of Racial Relations in English Society* (1948), p. 166; E. Scobie, *Black Britannia: a History of Blacks in Britain* (Chicago, 1972), p. 5; F.O. Shyllon, *Black People in Britain 1555-1833* (1977), p. 6; J. Walvin, *Black and White: the Negro and English society 1555-1945* (1973), p. 7; Introduction, pp. 4, 7-9.

⁶⁰ Hakluyt, VI, 176; Chapter 5, p. 270.

named George, home in 1556.⁶¹ Upon Towerson's arrival, the people of Hanta, a town close to Shama wept with joy to see their people returned, and:

were very glad of our Negros, specially one of their brothers wives, and one of their aunts which received them with much joy, and so did all the rest of the people, as if they had bene their natural bretheren.

They also 'demanded of them where Anthonie and Binnie had bene, and they told them that they had bene at London in England, and should be brought home the next voyage'. Towerson's account reported how 'George our Negro' was instrumental in facilitating trade. At Cape de Tres Puntas, they would have had difficulties without him, but:

at last by the perswasion of our owne Negros, one boat came to us, and with him we sent George our Negro a shore, and after he had talked with them, they came aboard our boates without fear.

On another occasion, George seems to have been so keen to help that he followed the English for 'at least 30 leagues in a small boat, and when he came, the Negroes and we soon concluded a price'.⁶²

In 1562, a Portuguese agent reported that the English vessels had carried back to Guinea two blacks who had been in London when King Philip was there.⁶³ Philip had been in England from June 1554 until August 1555 and again from March to July 1557, and so it seems likely that these two blacks were the two remaining of the original group of five.⁶⁴ In June 1577, William Towerson was in Guinea again, and recorded 'the 8 day George

⁶¹ Hakluyt, VI, 200. This is the second voyage to Guinea described by Hakluyt, the first being John Lok's of 1554-5; Chapter 1, pp. 80-1; Appleby, 'Towerson, William (d. 1584)', *ODNB* [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/27593>, accessed 1 Dec 2008]; J. D. Alsop, 'The career of William Towerson, Guinea trader', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 4 (1992), pp. 45-82.

⁶² Hakluyt, VI, 217-225. At this point, George appears to have been left behind in Shama due to a skirmish with the Portuguese.

⁶³ Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, CC-1-106-11, quoted in Hair and Alsop, *English Seamen and Traders in Guinea*, p. 67.

⁶⁴ Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor*, pp. 95, 191, 207, 312.

and Binny came to us, and brought with them about two pound of golde'.⁶⁵ This shows that Binnie had been returned as promised, and further that these men were still willing to do business with the English many years later.

Although these first five Africans mentioned in the Guinea voyage accounts published by Hakluyt have received the most attention, a closer look at the text shows that they were not the only Africans taken on the coast of Guinea at this time. Another group of four seem to have been taken by Robert Gainsh, master of the *John Evangelist*, who sailed with Lok in 1554-5. William Towerson later recalled that in 1555-6 'none of them (the Africans) would come neere us; being as we judged afraid of us: because that foure men were taken perforce the last year from this place'. He goes on to elaborate: 'last year M. Gainsh did take away the Captain's sonne and three others from this place with their golde and all that they had about them'.⁶⁶ This continued: in January 1577, Walter Wren reported that at Cape Verde 'three weeks before wee came, an English ship which had taken three of their people, and until we did bring or send them again, we should not have our men [hostages]'.⁶⁷ Thus there may have been more Africans brought back to England in this way.⁶⁸ There was clearly a fine line between the equitable exchange of hostages and violent abduction, which was easily crossed by mariners less tactful than William Towerson.

In a case of 1592, the London merchant Anthony Dassell was accused by Don Antonio in

⁶⁵ Hakluyt, VI, 245.

⁶⁶ Hakluyt, VI, 205, 207; Chapter 1, pp. 80-1.

⁶⁷ Hakluyt, VI, 273.

⁶⁸ This treatment was not reserved for Africans: S. Lee, 'Caliban's Visits to England', *Cornhill Magazine*, 34 (1913), pp. 337-9; Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters*, pp. 4-9.

the High Court of Admiralty of having overstepped this line.⁶⁹ Though more concerned with the fact that Dassell had not been paying him a share of his profits, as outlined in the Guinea Company charter of 1588, the prosecution also stated:

yt is objected against the sayde Dassell that he brought in this voyage ii Neygroes owte of the said Contrye agaynst theire wills and contrary to the proclamation and commandment of the kinge of the said coast of Guinea.

Furthermore, these Africans were of some importance locally, described in court as: ‘2 chief yonge negroes... sonnes to the chiefe justice of that countrey’. In his defence, Dassell claimed that: ‘the two yonge negroes they of themselves made sute to come, and voluntarie came to see England.’ And it was later stated that: ‘the blackamoors themselves have confessed that they are come hether voluntarily’. In fact Julius Caesar, the Judge of the Admiralty Court, himself examined them and did ‘find by them that they came hether by consent of there frendes to see the countrey’. Furthermore, Dassell had kept the two Africans at his ‘owne howse at... great charges curteouslie used and well intertained for the honour & creditt of our Prince and Contrye’, and testified that he intended to take them home in order to foster greater trust in his African trading partners. He claimed to be following the French example. There was, he said:

no nation better welcome to ye negroeess nor so well beloved which proceedeth cheifflye by bringinge negroes with them into Ffrance & retourninge them agayne to the increasinge of further love and Ametie.

Certainly, given that the strategy he refers to had been deployed by other Guinea traders before him, there is no reason to doubt his sincerity, though this would not prevent his actions being misinterpreted by the local king, or indeed by Don Antonio. Perhaps these young African noblemen were in fact rebelling against the wishes of their fathers and

⁶⁹ Chapter 1, p. 86-7.

their king, out of curiosity.⁷⁰

Another Guinea trader to bring Africans back to England was John Davies, who, as we saw in Chapter 1, was from 1607 to 1618 the leading figure in the Guinea trade, trading with Sierra Leone in redwood, and who was behind the formation of the Gynney and Bynney Company in 1618.⁷¹ In May 1597 ‘A blakmore, belonging to a Mr Iohn Davies’ was buried at St. Mary Woolchurch Haw.⁷² We know nothing further about this individual, but we do know that although Davies only came to prominence under James I, he had been trading to Guinea since around 1592. He appears again at St Mildred’s Poultry in January 1611 as a witness to the baptism of:

Dederi Jaquoah about the age of 20 yeares, the sonne of Caddi-biah king of the river of Cetras or Cestus in the cuntrey of Guinny, who was sent out of his cuntrey by his fater, in an english shipp called the Abigail of London, belonging to Mr John Davies of this parish⁷³

The Abigail was attacked by Dutch pirates on 3 July 1611 off the coast of Barbary.

William Wills, of Ratcliff, mariner, who had been master of *The Abigail*, testified that six of the men on board had been taken by the Dutch ‘by force and agange [against] their wills’ including ‘a youth called John’.⁷⁴ It has been suggested by Rosalyn Knutson that this youth might have been Dederi Jaquoah, as his baptismal name was John, but the testimony does not elaborate on this fact.⁷⁵ In fact, the prince seems to have returned home to work as an interpreter and trade factor. On 20 February 1615, Edward

⁷⁰ Appendix, Court Records, no. 13.

⁷¹ Chapter 1, p. 89.

⁷² Appendix, Burials, no. 39; Chapter 4, p. 241.

⁷³ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 40. One ‘John Davies, ye black’ was buried in Bisley, Gloucestershire in November 1603: Appendix, Burials, no. 50. It is just possible that he was named after the London merchant.

⁷⁴ TNA, HCA/1/47 ff. 235, 290v.

⁷⁵ Knutson, ‘A Caliban in St.Mildred Poultry’, pp. 122-3.

Blitheman, an employee of the East India Company wrote from Bantam to Sir Thomas Smith that his ship had met an 'Indian... being as we perceived the king's son of that place' while 'refreshing' at 'River Cestros' who was known as John Davis, and spoke good English having spent 'two years in England with Mr. Davis at the stocks'. He persuaded them to buy ivory and grain, and the 'general' had 'very kind entertainment of the king of that place with great proffers and promises of trade if he would stay there with his ships'.⁷⁶

The same strategy of bringing one or two Africans home to be trained as interpreters was employed in the treatment of Coree the Saldanian, who was brought to England from the Cape of Good Hope by the East India Company aboard the *Hector* in 1613. An anonymous account in Purchas's collection explains how the master of the ship:

persuaded a Negro to go with him willingly, because of some disagreement he had with his tribe...he needed an interpreter for the languages of Africa. And furthermore since this Negro understood some English, all the crew pressed him to learn more, much admiring the skill of his memory.

Another account, written in 1616 by Edward Terry, a ship's chaplain, tells that:

having two of these savages aboard, her commander resolved to bring them both home with him thinking that when they had got some English here, they might discover something of their country which we could not know before.

One of these men died en route, but the survivor of the pair, named 'Coree', spent six months at the house of Sir Thomas Smith in London, 'where he had good diet, good cloathes, good lodging', and a suit of armour made for him in brass. He was then returned to Africa in 1614, aboard the *New Year's Gift*.

⁷⁶ *Letters Received by the East India Company* ed. F.C.Danvers and W. Foster, (6 vols, 1896-1902), II, 329.

Some expressed doubts about his helpfulness: ‘it had been well if he had never seen England; for...he told his country-men... that brass was but a base and cheap commodity in England’. But in 1617, John Jourdain reported that on arrival in Capetown he ‘went to Corie’s house, which is an Indian which was carried for England in the Hectour per Capitaine Towerson’, and though trading did not always go smoothly, Coree certainly did seem to act as a mediator for English merchants.⁷⁷ In fact, he was so loyal that he met his death at the hands of the Dutch in 1627, after he refused to trade with them out of loyalty for (or at least familiarity with) the British.⁷⁸

When the Guinea Company complained to Parliament in 1650 regarding interlopers to the African trade, they gave an account of their activities on the Gold Coast:

We say that in Anno 1632 and 1633 we first settled a ffactory there [Wiampa] and that those kings granted that port of theirs called Warracoo to us, and at that time sent one of his sonnes for a pledge which came twice into England in our shipping, and returned againe, and now remaines a factor for us at our Castle of Cormantine.

The most prominent merchants involved in the Guinea Company at this time had been Humphrey Slany and William Cloberry, but as yet no record has been found of this prince in London. He may have been one of the last to be treated in this way, for reasons that become apparent when we read a little further:

After that the king of Aguema sent us another which he called his sonne named Asheney, who lived at our castle of Cormantine 3 or 4 years and had learned to

⁷⁷ This was in fact Gabriell Towerson, the tenth child of William Towerson (d. 1584), mentioned above. J. D. Alsop, ‘Towerson, Gabriel (*bap.* 1576, *d.* 1623)’, *ODNB* [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/27591>, accessed 1 Dec 2008]

⁷⁸ Hair, ‘Africa (other than the Mediterranean and Red Sea lands) and the Atlantic Islands’, p. 210; R. Raven-Hart, ed., *Before Van Riebeeck: Callers at South Africa from 1488 to 1652* (Cape Town, 1967), pp. 63-67, 71, 84-90, 98, 121; L. E. Merians, *Envisioning the Worst: Representations of “Hottentots” in Early-Modern England* (2001), pp. 87-94.

speake English...⁷⁹

In effect, once the English had established permanent trading forts or settlements abroad, it was no longer necessary to bring Africans, or other foreigners, back to England to teach them the language: they could learn it on the spot.

With Pirates

A handful of cases show that some Africans reached England through becoming embroiled with English pirates. Some pirates were executed, others granted royal pardons. Both can be proved to have had Africans on board their ships that sometimes returned to England with them. These cases seem to come mostly from the early 17th century. Perhaps this was because activities that had been sanctioned during the war with Spain (1588-1604) continued, but were no longer condoned.

The testimony of an African named Diogo to the Inquisition in Lisbon in 1615 shows how piracy might bring an African to England. In 1607, aged 12, Diogo was on his way from Lisbon to Bahia, Brazil with a Portuguese called Luis Vaz Paiva when he was captured near the Canary Islands. He was sold in Algiers to a pirate named Camarit. He served Camarit for the next seven years, as he attacked European vessels in the Atlantic and Mediterranean. Then he was taken by an English pirate captain, who he sailed with for four months, before the captain decided to return to England and throw himself on the mercy of the Crown. The Crown granted the captain a pardon and his crew was allowed to disembark. Diogo stayed in London for four months before returning to

⁷⁹ TNA, CO 1/11, no.15 (25 May 1650).

Lisbon to seek out his original Portuguese master, Francisco de Paiva Mercado.⁸⁰ Thus, this African had come to England on a pirate ship.

In 1606 a pirate named William Longcastle or Lancaster, captain of the *Ulysses*, attacked the *Susan* of Bristol (master Anthony Wye) off the coast of Safi in Morocco and made off with the ship to the West Indies. However, as the pamphlet published at the time of Longcastle's execution relates:

there was with Captaine *Longcastle* in this ship of the *Vlisses* a Negro, who not a month before, he had bought to be his boy and brought to be a Christian, who in the rashnesse to surprise and hast to get off, he had neglected to take with him, him left in the *Vlisses*, whereby the Factor was constrained to take him along with him, and at his returne deliuered him to maister *Hall* at *London*, vnto whom also (vrging his owne innocencie) he related the mischance had happened.⁸¹

This Mr. Hall was Richard Hall, merchant of London, owner of the *Ulysses*, who was also engaged in the tobacco trade to Trinidad at this time.⁸² As the boy later appeared in court, Hall must have cared for the boy long enough to bring him to court to testify against the pirate. What became of him after that is not known.

Another African to come to England with an English pirate was John Philip. When he gave evidence in Virginia in 1624, he claimed to have been baptised in England twelve years earlier, in 1612. He went on to testify that 'being in a ship with Sir Henry

⁸⁰ Appendix, Court Records, no. 24; Chapter 4, p. 257; Chapter 5, pp. 259-60.

⁸¹ *The Liues, Apprehensions, Arraignments, and Executions, of the 19. Late Pyrates Namely: Capt. Harris. Jennings. Longcastle. Downes. Haulsey. and their Companies. As they were Seuerally Indited on St. Margrets Hill in Southwarke, on the 22. of December last, and Executed the Fryday following* (1609), sig. E2r; J.W. Weatherford, *Crime and Punishment in the England of Shakespeare and Milton, 1570-1640* (2001), pp. 100-1; Chapter 4, pp. 226-7 and Chapter 5, pp. 281-2. Depositions relating to this case are to be found in T.N.A., HCA 1/47, ff.4-5 [William Hill 1 May 1609], f.56 [William Longecastle], ff.56-57 [William Tavernor], f.59 [John Moore, 20 November 1609].

⁸² K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny, P.E.H. Hair and D.B. Quinn eds. *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480-1650* (1979), pp. 132-3; J.C. Appleby, 'Thomas Mun's West Indies Venture, 1602-5' *Historical Research*, 67, no. 162 (Feb. 1994), pp. 101-110.

Maneringe, they tooke a Spanish ship about Cape Sct Mary and caryed her to Mamora'.⁸³ This was Mehedia, 20 miles north of Sallee on the west coast of Morocco, at the mouth of the river Sebu. Sir Henry Mainwaring was knighted in 1618 after gaining a royal pardon for his piratical crimes in 1616.⁸⁴ However in the preceding years, his activities had been rather less noble. Mainwaring had bought a ship named the *Resistance* in July 1612 for '700 and odd pounds' and obtained a privateering licence. However, he went on to use Mamora, known as 'the pirates' Mecca', as a base, where he became head of a powerful fleet. He is alleged to have captured some 30 Spanish ships over the next two years before sailing to Newfoundland in 1614. Thus John Philip may have gone to Mamora with Mainwaring in 1612 from England, or have been taken there by him or one of his associates shortly after the events he describes.

Another African connected with Mainwaring appeared in Dover in the winter of 1619/20. John Anthony 'Negar now of the Towne and port of Dover Mayryner and late one of the maryners which stayed in the shipp or pinnace called the Silver Ffaulcon under Captain John Fenner and Mr. Bacon', petitioned Edward, Lord Zouche and the Privy Council for payment of wages. He suggests that the money might be:

delivered into the hands of Sir Henry Mainwaring, knight...his worshipful master, who will give securitie for the releasing thereof upon all orations to him, or any other that shall laye right clayme to the same, and the same will put forth your petitioner's greatest advantage.

In March 1620, Mainwaring wrote to Lord Zouche from Dover Castle confirming that

⁸³ W.J. Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Days of Sail* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), p. 9, H.T. Catterall, *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro* (5 vols., Washington, 1926-1937), I, 76; *The Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring*, ed. G.E. Mainwaring (2 vols., Navy Records Soc., LIV, LVI, 1920-1922.), II, p. 10, n.1.

⁸⁴ G. G. Harris, 'Mainwaring, Sir Henry (1586/7-1653)', *ODNB* [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/38733>, accessed 2 Dec 2008]

‘the blacke boy is come her[e] for his money’ and had been paid. The way he writes suggests their relationship was quite distant, and the internal evidence of Anthony’s petitions shows that he was not living with Mainwaring at the time.⁸⁵ My conjecture is that John Anthony had originally come to England with Mainwaring, who had then found him work as a sailor, and so it was Mainwaring’s support he sought when he got into difficulties. Mainwaring had in fact commissioned shipwright Phineas Pett to build the *Silver Falcon*, the ship that John Anthony sailed on.⁸⁶

In the 1620s and 30s, several North Africans were brought to England as captives, having been involved in piracy themselves. These were Barbary pirates, captured en route to raiding the West Country and Ireland. For example, on 21 June 1627, Captain Hart of Dartmouth captured a group of some 26 ‘Turks and Moors belonging to Algier’ off the Welsh coast. Another group was taken and condemned to death at Winchester in 1636.⁸⁷ There may have been more Africans who came to Britain as a consequence of piracy, but much piracy went undetected. Let us turn then now to those state-sanctioned voyages which were a little better recorded.

Via the Caribbean

In fact, the routes outlined above represent the experience of a minority only. The numbers involved in the cases that follow were often much larger. As we saw in Chapter 1, voyages to the Caribbean almost inevitably involved encounters with Africans.⁸⁸ While

⁸⁵ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 19; Chapter 3, pp. 183-4, 191-2.

⁸⁶ *The Autobiography of Phineas Pett*, ed. W.G. Perrin (1908), pp. 116-7. See. R. McCaughey, ‘Pett, Phineas (1570–1647)’, *ODNB* [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/22060>, accessed 2 Dec 2008]

⁸⁷ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, nos. 23,24, 26,27; Chapter 4, p. 229-30.

⁸⁸ See Chapter 1, pp. 106-114.

most of the Africans in the Spanish Caribbean in the sixteenth century were taken there by Portuguese or Spanish traders, there is one notable exception: Sir John Hawkins. Hawkins is infamous for being the first English slave trader.⁸⁹ He was responsible for four slaving expeditions between 1562 and 1568 (three, 1562-3, 1564-5, 1567-8 on which he sailed himself, the fourth led at his request by his relative John Lovell in 1566-7). He sold the Africans in the Spanish Caribbean however, and so, had his voyages been completely successful, we should not expect Africans to arrive in Britain as a result of them. However, when Hawkins embarked on his final slaving voyage in 1567, contemporary reports record that he loaded Africans in Plymouth. Reports of the numbers vary. Michael Sole, gentleman adventurer, testified that the expedition had left Plymouth with 60 Africans, Robert Barrett, master of the flagship said 50, another witness, Juan Truslon said 40. Walter Jones also referred to blacks being brought from England, but did not specify how many. Paul Hair, who first published these accounts, played down the figures, suggesting that the actual number was less than 10, explaining that the testimony of the sailors must have been ‘misunderstood by a clerk or deliberately exaggerated for an unclear reason.’⁹⁰ Hair, who was most familiar with the material on the early Guinea voyages, characterised the group as ‘a party of African freemen, previously resident in England who had sailed with the expedition in 1567, either as interpreters or as returned hostages’, no doubt imagining their role to have been similar to that of George, Anthony, Binnie and the other interpreters described above.⁹¹ However, Harry Kelsey’s recent work suggests a more plausible explanation for the presence of around fifty Africans in

⁸⁹ G. Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery* (Madrid, 2008), shows that English merchants based in Andalusia traded in and owned slaves there in the 1530s, but Hawkins was the first to attempt the transatlantic trade.

⁹⁰ Appendix, Court Records, no. 4.

⁹¹ P.E.H. Hair, ‘Protestants as Pirates, Slavers and Proto-missionaries: Sierra Leone, 1568 and 1582’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 21 (1970), p. 220.

Plymouth in 1567. He suggests that the Africans were only resident in Plymouth for a matter of weeks. John Lovell had returned from an unsuccessful slaving trip in September 1567. Without Hawkins' experience in dealing with the Spanish, he had visited Margarita, Borburata and Rio de la Hacha, but had been unable to sell all the Africans he had acquired by force on the Guinea coast. So the Africans returned with him to Plymouth, only to be handed over to Hawkins, who was ready to set sail on 1 October 1567.⁹² Although they had only been in Plymouth for a few weeks, this episode shows how Africans might come to England as a side effect of such voyages. Furthermore, as the witnesses are so vague about numbers, there is some possibility that some of these Africans slipped away or stayed behind in Plymouth.

Hawkins' third voyage was even less successful than that of Lovell the year before. The fleet returned in total disarray, but nonetheless with some Africans aboard. John Tonnes reported in July 1569 that there were 10 or 12 Africans 'in the Mynion whereof she brought seven from the port of la Vera Cruz into England and the rest died by the way homewarde'. These would have returned to Plymouth in the *Minion*, having made landfall at Mount's Bay, Cornwall on 25 January 1569.⁹³ Hawkins was reproached by some for keeping these men aboard, when he had abandoned around 90 Englishmen at Tampico.⁹⁴ Twelve Africans had been onboard when the *Minion* left Mexico; Hawkins had sold two in Vigo, Spain to cover costs, and three more must have died on the voyage,

⁹² H. Kelsey, *Sir John Hawkins: Elizabeth's Slave Trader* (2003), pp. 40-56.

⁹³ TNA, SP 12/53

⁹⁴ Kelsey, *Sir John Hawkins*, p. 99; Hair, 'Protestants as Pirates, Slavers and Proto-missionaries', p. 220.

as did 45 other crew.⁹⁵ Unfortunately the parish registers of St. Andrews, Plymouth only survive from 1581, so we cannot trace the lives of these individuals with any certainty. However, it may be that some of the Africans that appear in the records after 1581 were survivors of the 1569 voyage: for example, Bastien, who died in December 1583, at which time he was living in the household of William Hawkins, John's brother.⁹⁶

Some Africans arrived in Britain as a result of Sir Francis Drake's various voyages to the Caribbean. We saw in Chapter 1 how Drake made alliances with the *Cimaroons* and met Diego in Panama in 1573.⁹⁷ Drake's ships returned to Plymouth on 9 August 1573. The next we hear of Diego is that he accompanied Drake, and died, on the circumnavigation voyage of 1577-8.⁹⁸ Diego was presumably a member of the Drake household in the three intervening years: perhaps he lived at Drake's newly acquired house in Notte Street, Plymouth.⁹⁹ Little is known of Drake's activities from 1573 to 1576, other than his involvement in Essex's Irish campaign and the Rathlin Island massacre.¹⁰⁰ Whether Diego accompanied his master on these adventures is unknown, but he must have spent some time in Plymouth.

This pattern was to continue when Africans came back to England with Drake from the

⁹⁵ Kelsey, *Sir John Hawkins*, p.98.

⁹⁶ Appendix, Burials, no. 5. Bastien may also have come to Plymouth as a result of William Hawkins's voyage of 1582-3 on the *Primrose* to the Caribbean, which seems to have captured some Africans on the Cape Verde islands. Voyages Database. 2009. *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, Voyage 98853 [<http://www.slavevoyages.org>, accessed 21 March 2011]; *Further English Voyages to Spanish America, 1583-1594*, ed. I.A. Wright (Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser. XCIX, 1949), pp. 1-7; Kelsey, *Sir John Hawkins*, pp. 163-4.

⁹⁷ See Chapter 1, pp. 107-8.

⁹⁸ D. Wilson, *The World Encompassed: Drake's Great Voyage, 1577-1580* (1977), p. 26; J. Sugden, *Sir Francis Drake* (rev. ed, 1996), pp. 61-3, 99.

⁹⁹ H. Kelsey, 'Drake, Sir Francis (1540-1596)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8022>, accessed 30 March 2008]; *Francis Drake, Privateer*, ed. Hampden, p. 61.

¹⁰⁰ Sugden, *Francis Drake*, p. 79.

Caribbean in 1586. Drake's fleet of two dozen ships and eight pinnaces left Plymouth in September 1585, and raided the Spanish ports of São Tiago in the Cape Verde Islands, and Santo Domingo, Cartagena and San Agustín in the Caribbean, before returning to Portsmouth on 28 July 1586.¹⁰¹ At every port, enslaved Africans joined the English. Pedro Sanchez's deposition at Havana in June 1586 that Drake 'carried off 150 negroes and negresses from Santo Domingo and Cape Verde' is typical.¹⁰² The Spanish suspected that Drake had intended to take these people to Roanoke, to help establish the new colony. In the event he found the English at Roanoke desperate to go home, and shortly after his arrival there was a terrible storm that killed many, including perhaps some of the Africans. However, some one hundred Turks (who had also been enslaved by the Spanish) were repatriated, and one, named Chinano was converted to Christianity in London the following year.¹⁰³ The fate of the Africans is not so well recorded. One got as far as Paris, as Edward Stafford, ambassador to France reported in August:

There is in this town a Negro with a cutt one his face that sayethe he came with Sir Frances Drak and stole away from him when he was landed in England.¹⁰⁴

At least three Africans recorded elsewhere are likely to have travelled to England as a result of this voyage. The 'blackamore' who arrived in the household of Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland at some point between 14 October 1586 and 14 February

¹⁰¹ H. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake: the Queen's Pirate* (1998), pp. 240-279; *Drake's West Indian Voyage, 1585-6*, ed. M. Frear Keeler (Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., CXLVIII, 1981), p. 69, 292.

¹⁰² *Further English Voyages to Spanish America, 1583-1594*, ed. Wright, p.159; *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, ed. R. Brown (38 vols., 1864-1947), 1581-1591, pp. 155, 168.

¹⁰³ D.B. Quinn, 'Turks, Moors, Blacks and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage', in *Explorers and Colonies: America 1500-1625*, essays by D.B.Quinn (1990), pp. 197-204; Chapter 4, pp. 222-3,232.

¹⁰⁴ TNA, SP 78/16 f.9 (20 August 1586); J. McDermott, 'Stafford, Sir Edward (1552-1605)', *ODNB* [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/26203>, accessed 5 Dec 2008]

1587 was brought there by ‘Mr Crosse’s man’.¹⁰⁵ This was probably Robert Crosse, who was part of Drake’s company, captain of the *Bond*.¹⁰⁶ The ‘Ethiopian Negar’ that Cornish mariner John Lax of Fowey brought to Hector Nunes in October 1586 was ‘brought from the porte of Santa Domingo in Nova Spayne beyond the seas’: one of the places Drake had raided.¹⁰⁷ And Edward Swarthy, alias Negro, who was a porter to Sir Edward Winter in Lydney, Gloucestershire by 1597, no doubt arrived there because Winter had commanded the *Aid* on Drake’s voyage.¹⁰⁸

Further Africans arrived in England in 1596 as a result of what was to be Drake’s and Hawkins’ s last voyage.¹⁰⁹ They called at the same Caribbean ports as Drake had done ten years earlier, and once again, took Africans aboard. It was reported at Nombre de Dios that ‘The enemy took some Negro women belonging to Ana Gomez, a rich trader.’¹¹⁰ Following the deaths of both Drake and Hawkins, Sir Thomas Baskerville assumed the command and brought the expedition home in April and May 1596.¹¹¹ In July, the Privy Council discussed ‘those blackamoors that in this last voyage under Sir Thomas

¹⁰⁵ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 109.

¹⁰⁶ J. McDermott, ‘Crosse, Sir Robert (c.1547–1611)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37326>, accessed 28 March 2008]; *Drake’s West Indian Voyage, 1585-6*, ed. Keeler, p. 69, 292; K.R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering : English Privateering during the Spanish War, 1585-1603* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 90, 94, 255.

¹⁰⁷ Appendix, Court Records, no. 10.

¹⁰⁸ Appendix, Court Records, no. 16. As Winter was in captivity in France 1588-1593, and shortly afterwards retired to life at Lydney, the 1585-6 voyage seems the most likely time he could have met Edward Swarthy. Wyntours of the *White Cross: an Extended Family History*, ed. B. Kendall and K. Childs, (Lydney, 1988), p. 33; Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, p. 244; P.W. Hasler, ed., *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1558-1603* (3 vols., 1981), III, p. 674.

¹⁰⁹ Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake*, pp. 381-391. Hawkins died off Puerto Rico on 11 November 1595. Drake died at sea between Escudo Island and Porto Bello on 28 January 1596.

¹¹⁰ *The Last Voyage of Drake and Hawkins*, ed. K.R. Andrews (Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser., CXXXXII, 1972), p. 211.

¹¹¹ J. Daybell, ‘Baskerville, Sir Thomas (d. 1597)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1626>, accessed 23 Oct 2006].

Baskerville were brought into this realme the number of tenn'.¹¹²

Privateering

The exploits of Drake and Hawkins, if not all the human consequences of them, are well known. The smaller scale activities of their compatriots, and the Africans that came to Britain as a result, are less so. In their recent study of the African population of the early colonial Americas, Linda Heywood and John Thornton concluded that they 'arrived largely as a result of piracy on the high seas'.¹¹³ This was also the case with the African British population. Of course actions which the Iberian powers would have termed 'piracy' were in fact sanctioned by letters of Marque and labelled 'privateering' by the English authorities.

In fact, the earliest example of Africans coming to Britain in this way comes from Scotland. Besides the alternative routes outlined above, it has been argued that the Africans at the court of James IV may have been supplied by the privateering activities of the notorious Barton brothers.¹¹⁴ In July 1507, Andrew, Robert and John Barton were given a renewal of letters of Marque by James IV, authorizing them to seize Portuguese ships to the value of 12,000 ducats, in order to recompense them for the seizure of their father's ship by a Portuguese squadron near Sluys in 1476.¹¹⁵ Within the year, both Robert and John had captured Portuguese vessels.¹¹⁶ Although there is no mention of the Barton brothers in the accounts in connection with the 'Mores', in July 1505, a Treasury

¹¹² Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 9.

¹¹³ Chapter 1, p. 115.

¹¹⁴ J. Pinkerton, *The History of Scotland from the Accession of the House of Stuart to that of Mary* (2 vols., 1797), II, 61, n. 5.

¹¹⁵ P. Fryer, *Staying Power: the History of Black People in Britain* (1984), p. 2.

¹¹⁶ R.K. Hamay, *The Letters of James IV* (1953), lii-liii.

payment was made to William Wood ‘for the fraucht [freight] of the Portugall quit [white] hors, the must [civet] cat, the jennet [Spanish horse] and the Moris’.¹¹⁷ The mention of the ‘Moris’ in conjunction with a collection of Iberian animals strengthens the idea that they had arrived as a result of such a capture. William Wood of Leith was one of the witnesses to the renewed letters of reprisal granted to the Bartons in 1506, and a shipowner.¹¹⁸ He may well have been an associate of the Bartons.

Later evidence shows more clearly how privateering brought Africans to these shores. In November 1571, Portuguese agent Antonio Fogaza reported to Ruy Gomez de Silva, one of Philip II’s favourites that:

At the end of last month I was informed that the *Castle of Comfort* had arrived at the Isle of Wight...I sent a man thither in haste...who searched the whole ship but only found two Negroes formerly belonging to Don Luis Vasconcellos, who had left Lisbon a year and a half ago in the said Portuguese ship to be Governor of Brazil.

Fogaza goes on to claim that Vasconcellos ‘and all his people’ were ‘captured and murdered’ in the Canaries.¹¹⁹ The *Castle of Comfort* was a prolific privateering ship, of 200 tons burden. In 1571 it belonged to Sir Henry Compton, who had acquired it in 1569. Earlier in the year she had set out for Morocco under the command of John Garrett of Plymouth.¹²⁰ There is no evidence as to whether these two Africans were returned to Spain, though it seems unlikely as their master was dead. Neither did anyone seem in a

¹¹⁷ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 38. The previous November, a payment was made to ‘the man that brocht the Portugall hors with the rede tale and the must cat’: *ALHTS*, II, 468.

¹¹⁸ Pinkerton, *The History of Scotland*, II, 61, n. 5; *ALHTS*, IV, 45, 289, 366.

¹¹⁹ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 4.

¹²⁰ In 1574, she was bought by William Hawkins and Richard Grenville. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering*, p.17; K.R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge, 1984), p.110; J.A.Williamson, *Hawkins of Plymouth: a New History of Sir John Hawkins and of the Other Members of his Family Prominent in Tudor England*, 2nd ed. (1969), p. 195.

rush to sell them: one gets the impression that all the other looted goods had been cleared out of the ship by the time the Portuguese informant arrived to inspect it: only these two Africans remained.

The incidence of such events inevitably increased in times of war. The connection was made in a draft proclamation of 1601 that ‘great numbers of Negroes and blackamoors...are carried into this realm of England since the troubles between her highness and the King of Spain’.¹²¹ The numbers of Africans recorded in English sources peaks in the period 1588-1604, the dates of the war with Spain. Spanish ships almost always had at least a few Africans onboard, even if they were not slaving ships. For example, the *San Pedro Mayor*, wrecked near Salcombe in South Devon in November 1588 after the Armada had an African onboard, who died shortly afterwards.¹²² In 1598, the *Bruce*, a Scottish ship was mistaken for a Spanish ship ‘by reason of so many Portingalls and negroes which were in her’.¹²³ Thus, when such ships were captured at sea, Africans were brought to English ports as a result.

The largest group of Africans to arrive in England in this way arrived in Bristol in October 1590 on a prize brought in by her Majesty’s ship, the *Charles*, captained by Jonas Bradbury.¹²⁴ The prize had on board a massive haul of 734 chests of sugar, and 13 hogsheads of mollasses. Also onboard were 32 Spaniards and Portuguese and 135

¹²¹ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 18.

¹²² Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 6.

¹²³ SP 52/63, f. 68. See below, p. 152.

¹²⁴ Bradbury had captained the *Disdain* during the Armada battle and was Vice-Admiral of Ireland in 1601: J.S. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy: with a History of the Rise of England as a Maritime Power* (2 vols, 1898), II, 150; R.G. Marsden, ‘The Vice Admirals of the Coast’, *English Historical Review*, 23, no. 92 (Oct. 1908), p. 754.

‘Neagroes’.¹²⁵ The Bristol authorities put them up in barn for a week before swiftly shipping them back to Spain, asking Lord Burghley for £302 13s 3d to cover their expenses.¹²⁶ Similarly in 1592, William Grafton’s *Our Lady* captured the *St. Francis* and *Good Jesus* of Viana, Portugal on their return from Pernambuco, laden with ‘fine white Sugars and dyvers Negros’. He brought them into Clovelly, Devon, but later sent his Portuguese prisoners home ‘with their Negroos and mony’.¹²⁷

Certainly not all Africans that arrived in England in this way were returned. John Hill of Stonehouse, Plymouth, tells us as much in a letter of April 1597. A prisoner of war in Spain, he was released:

condyconallie to come over into Engeland for the procuringe of two negroes taken by Capten Clemtes of Weymouthe the laste yere and to return ageyne with them unto the Groyne or true certificate why they coulde not be obteyned.¹²⁸

In this case, Captain Clements of Weymouth had seen no reason to return the ‘two negroes’ he had taken to their original owners. Who was this Captain Clements? Perhaps it was one of two brothers, John and William Clements, who were promoters of the privateering ship *Archangel* in 1600, which took two prizes near Cuba in 1602.¹²⁹

A case where Africans ended up on a Scottish ship is related in a letter written in April

¹²⁵ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 8; Chapter 5, p. 276-7. The Mayor William Hopkins reports the figures at 30 and 100, but the figures given by Nicholas Thorne, the chamberlain seem more precise.

¹²⁶ No doubt the barn was the only lodging large enough to accommodate the group at such short notice. When Francis Drake captured the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* in August 1588 the 397 prisoners were kept in an old barn in the grounds of Torre Abbey, near Torquay. P. Martin, *Spanish Armada Prisoners: the Story of the Nuestra Señora del Rosario and her Crew, and of Other Prisoners in England, 1587-97* (Exeter, 1988), p. 44.

¹²⁷ Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering*, p. 154.

¹²⁸ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 11.

¹²⁹ K.R. Andrews, ‘English Voyages to the Caribbean, 1596 to 1604: An Annotated List’, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 31, no. 2 (Apr., 1974), p. 250.

1598 by Sir Julius Caesar, judge of the High Court of Admiralty:

John Clerk...being captain of the Julian of London and one Petit, captain of a ship of Southampton [the *Confederate*] meeting on the seas with a Scottish ship belonging to the said complainant [George Bruce, brother of Edward, Lord of Kinloss] themselves being over pestered with negroes and Portugals, whom they had before taken in some prizes, disburdened their ships of 53 negroes and Portugalls, 36 out of Petit's ship and 17 out of Clerk's ship and put them in the Scottish ship, which gave occasion afterward to an English man of war there on the seas to take the said Scottish ship for a good prize and to bring the same into England, where by order of justice it was afterwards restored with all the lading then in her to the Scottish master and company.¹³⁰

Thus Africans might occasionally have made it to Scotland as a result of English privateering activity.

Beyond these explicit cases, when we look into whom Africans in Britain were living with, and when they got there, the circumstantial evidence builds up to show strong links with privateering. Merchants Richard Dodderidge and John Norris of Barnstaple both had Africans in their households. On April 6 1596, 'Grace a Neiger servante of Mr Rycharde Doddridge ws Baptysed'.¹³¹ Six weeks later, Peter Mingus a 'negor' servant of 'Mr. Norrishe' was buried.¹³² In the spring of 1588 Norris had petitioned the Privy Council for letters of Marque.¹³³ In 1589, 'John Norrys with his bark returned having been a reprising.'¹³⁴ In December 1590, the *Prudence*, a ship belonging to Richard Dodderidge and others, returned from a 'reprisall voiage' with the *Holy Spirit* of Lisbon, the richest prize ship Barnstaple had ever seen. The ship had been 'at Castellmayne upon the coast

¹³⁰ *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, ed. J.D. Mackie (13 vols., 1898-1969), 1597-1603, pp. 194, 345; SP 52/63, f.68; BL Lansdowne MS 143, no. 17, ff. 154-157.

¹³¹ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 15. Dodderidge was one of the Guinea traders of 1588 (see Chapter 1, pp.86,91), so Grace may have come to Barnstaple either as a side effect of this trade or as a result of privateering.

¹³² Appendix, Burials, no. 37.

¹³³ APC, 1587-1588, p. 427

¹³⁴ *The Lost Chronicle of Barnstaple 1586-1611* ed. T. Gray (Exeter, 1998), p. 67.

of Gynney', that is 'Castel de Mina', in Portuguese Sao Jorge de Mina, known as Elmina Castle, the main Portuguese slave-trading fortress on the Guinea coast, and had aboard £16,000 worth of gold, as well as perfumes, ivory and pepper.¹³⁵ Just over a year later, in January 1592, Dodderidge's ship brought in another rich prize, worth £10,000.¹³⁶ In total, Adam Wyatt, the town clerk makes 13 references in his chronicle to privateering voyages that bring plunder to Barnstaple.¹³⁷ It seems likely that these two Africans and the 7 others recorded as living in the town between 1596 and 1607 arrived in Barnstaple as a result of these privateering activities.¹³⁸

Paul Bayning, a 'grocer' of London had at least five Africans in his household. In 1593 'three maids, blackamores', are recorded as lodging in his house. In March 1602 'Julyane A blackamore servant Wyth Mr Aldermanne Bannyng of the age of 22 yeares' was christened at St. Mary Bothaw. In 1609, 'Abell a Blackamor' appeared before the Governors of the Bridewell, 'his M[aste]r Paul Bannyng present'. Bayning's 1616 will made provision for 'Anthony my negro'.¹³⁹ Bayning was one of the leading privateering magnates of his generation, contributing a ship to the Cadiz expedition in 1587, and investing heavily in Sir James Lancaster's Pernambuco venture of 1595, and the earl of Cumberland's Puerto Rico expedition of 1598. In June 1599, his ship the *Golden Phoenix* took a prize near Havana and sent it home. The following February she took a prize near Barbados with 125-130 African slaves on board which were sold for 60 ounces of pearls

¹³⁵ *The Lost Chronicle of Barnstaple*, ed. Gray, p. 68-9; A. Grant, *Atlantic Adventurer: John Delbridge of Barnstaple, 1564-1639* (1996), p. 8; TNA, E190/935/14, f. 2v. (Port Book, 8 January 1590).

¹³⁶ *The Lost Chronicle of Barnstaple*, ed. Gray, p. 72.

¹³⁷ *The Lost Chronicle of Barnstaple*, ed. Gray, p. 38.

¹³⁸ Appendix, Baptisms, nos. 16, 19, 28, 29, 33, Burials nos. 39, 56, 58.

¹³⁹ Appendix: Tax Returns, no. 8; Baptisms, no. 21; Court Records, no. 22; Wills and Inventories, no. 4. If Julyane was one of the three maids noted in 1593, then there were four Africans in the Bayning household. If she was not, then there were five (though they were not necessarily all there at the same time).

at La Margarita.¹⁴⁰ These strong links to privateering no doubt explain the presence of Africans in his household. Similar links can be made elsewhere. Thomas Heaton of Southampton, East India merchant John Eldred and Sir Thomas Love all had Africans in their households and sponsored privateering voyages.¹⁴¹

The presence of Africans in the households of men who were customs officials or responsible for dealing with incoming prize ships further strengthens the impression that they arrived in this way. John Young of Bristol (c.1519-1589), who employed an African to guard his garden in 1560, became collector of customs and subsidies for Bristol in March 1559.¹⁴² John Caplin, comptroller of Southampton had one African in his household in 1598-1599.¹⁴³ Thomas Heaton, who had a black servant in 1591, was collector of customs for Southampton c.1583, and in 1589 was one of those appointed to deal with corn captured during the Portugal voyage.¹⁴⁴ William Stallenge, who buried Mary, a blackmore, in December 1601, was appointed by Drake to assist the carrack commissioners at Saltash, just across the River Tamar from Plymouth. He was ‘both honest and discreet’ and gave ‘great help to understand the Spanish’. In 1599 he sent the Lord Admiral a scheme for ‘the keeping of the accounts of prize goods’ to be used in every port. By 1602 he was sequestrator in the customer’s office of the Port of London.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering*, pp. 109-111; Andrews, ‘English Voyages to the Caribbean, 1596 to 1604’, p. 248; I.W. Archer, ‘Bayning, Paul (c.1539–1616)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52003>, accessed 2 Jan 2008]

¹⁴¹ Appendix, Court Records, no. 11, Burials, no. 53, 81; Andrews, ‘English Voyages to the Caribbean, 1596 to 1604’, p. 245, 253; R. C. D. Baldwin, ‘Eldred, John (1552–1632)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8615>, accessed 14 April 2008]; *CSPD*, 1628-1629, pp. 107, 110. Heaton was also the owner of the *Confederate*, the Southampton ship which placed 36 Africans on the *Bruce* in 1598. See above pp. 152; Chapter 3, p. 183.

¹⁴² Appendix, Court Records, no. 3; *The Commons, 1558-1603*, ed. Hasler, III, 684.

¹⁴³ Appendix, Tax Returns, nos. 11,16 ; *CSPD*, 1595-1597, p. 53.

¹⁴⁴ Appendix, Court Records, no. 11; *The Commons, 1558-1603*, ed. Hasler, II, 306.

¹⁴⁵ Appendix, Burials, no. 45; *The Commons, 1558-1603*, ed. Hasler, III, 434.

James Bagg, who referred to his 'negrowe' in a letter of 1628, was comptroller of customs at Plymouth and Fowey. He was added to the Commission of Oyer and Terminer in Piracy Cases in Devon in 1620. In his role as vice-admiral of Cornwall and Devon (by 1624), he was responsible for gathering the Lord Admiral's share of proceeds in the county's Admiralty court cases.¹⁴⁶ These positions provided ample opportunity for bribery and corruption.¹⁴⁷ Perhaps the acquiring of an African servant when a group of them arrived on a privateering ship was another perk of the job?

Similarly the presence of Africans in the households of noblemen and gentlemen who invested in privateering voyages suggests that they may have come to England as a result of such activity. As the Spanish ambassador Guzman de Silva noted in a letter to Philip II in 1567: 'there are not only merchants who have shares in these adventures but secretly many of the Queen's Council.'¹⁴⁸ Men like the Earl of Leicester, Robert Cecil and Walter Raleigh were investors, and had Africans in their households. Perhaps, in much the same way that Robert Crosse had brought a blackamore to the Earl of Northumberland, other captains had presented these Africans to these men of influence in hope of gaining favour, and further investment. In January 1602, 'Fortunatus a blackmoor seruant to Sr Robert Cicill' was buried at St. Clement Danes.¹⁴⁹ Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester had an African in his household in 1583-4. Another record in the Earl of Leicester's accounts

¹⁴⁶ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 25; A. Thrush, 'The bottomless bag? Sir James Bagg and the navy, 1623-1628', in *The New Maritime History of Devon, Vol. 1: from Early Times to the Late Eighteenth-Century* ed. M. Duffy, S. Fisher, B. Greenhill; D.J. Starkey, and J. Youngs (1993), pp. 115-116; *The Commons: 1558-1603*, ed. Hasler, I, 383; A. Thrush, 'Bagg, Sir James (*bag*. 1592, *d*. 1638)', *ODNB* [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/66507>, accessed 3 Dec 2008]

¹⁴⁷ G. Elton, 'Informing for profit: a sidelight on Tudor methods of law-enforcement', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 11 (1953-5), pp. 149-67; E. Jones, 'Illicit business: accounting for smuggling in mid-sixteenth-century Bristol', *Economic History Review*, 54 (2001), pp. 17-38; O. Dunn, 'The Petitions of Thomas Watkins against Customer John Dowle 1598 – 1600' (Bristol Univ., BA thesis, 2006).

¹⁴⁸ *CSPS*, 1558-1567, p. 652.

¹⁴⁹ Appendix, Burials, no. 46.

shows that Sir Walter Raleigh also had a ‘blackamore’ in his household at this time.¹⁵⁰

Further evidence of blacks in the Raleigh household comes from a declaration in the State Papers: on 7 April 1597, John Hill of Stonehouse, Plymouth asked permission to take ‘one of the negers remayninge with My Ladie Rawleighe’ to Spain with him. Other men in the same milieu also had Africans in their households. On Friday 18 July 1589, Sir Arthur Throckmorton recorded in his diary: ‘I tooke the Moore Antony of Guinea to serve me’.¹⁵¹ Throckmorton was Raleigh’s brother in law, his diary being more famous for its comments on the adventurer. He too went to sea: he was present on the Cadiz voyage of 1596.¹⁵² George ‘the blackmoor of Mr John Ffortescue of ffallapytt’, in East Allington, South Devon was baptised in August 1577.¹⁵³ Fortescue was linked to Hawkins by the marriage of his eldest son Edmund to Mary, daughter of Sir Arthur Champernowne of Modbury, who captured the Spanish treasure fleet in 1568 and had trading links with the Hawkins family. While there is no definitive proof that these Africans arrived in these households in this way, in the context of the cases we are surer of, the circumstantial evidence grows increasingly convincing.

Conclusion

It is not always straightforward to discover how Africans came to Britain in this period. However, the small number of cases where the facts are clearly recorded allow us to extrapolate to reach a plausible conclusion about the others. Direct trade with Africa and connections with Europe provided some of Britain’s African population, especially

¹⁵⁰ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 104-6.

¹⁵¹ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, nos. 7, 11.

¹⁵² P.E.J. Hammer, ‘Myth-Making: Politics, Propaganda and the Capture of Cadiz in 1596’, *The Historical Journal*, 40, no. 3 (1997), p. 622; A.L. Rowse, *Raleigh and the Throckmortons* (1962), pp. 199-200.

¹⁵³ Appendix, baptisms, no. 4.

earlier in the sixteenth century; but as privateering activity increased once relations with Spain deteriorated, this seems to have become the primary way in which Africans came to England. In the 1620s and 1630s, however, numbers of Africans in Britain decrease. This was probably because Africans captured at sea were being taken to the new colonies such as Virginia and Bermuda where their labour was more urgently required.¹⁵⁴ The number of African immigrants to Britain would only rise again once individuals began to bring them home with them from the colonies. But by then, the character of their experience would be fundamentally different.

The question of how Africans came to Britain in this period has not been thoroughly examined in the past. Instead, some scholars have assumed that the black presence was a side effect of the slave trade. However, as the English did not engage in slave trading between 1569 and 1641, this is not a satisfactory solution. I have shown here some alternative routes whereby Africans travelled to Britain. This question is particularly important because the way in which someone arrives somewhere has an effect on how he or she is subsequently viewed and treated. So, if these Africans came to England or Scotland as slaves, we would expect them to be treated quite differently to how they might be if they came as personal servants or sailors. It would affect every aspect of their lives, from their occupation to their status under the law. Although these men and women did not arrive as slaves, most of them arrived with nothing. Those employed by a royal or gentry family were the lucky minority. The rest had to find their own way to make a living, and it is this that we will examine in the next chapter.

¹⁵⁴ Chapter 1, pp. 115-6.

Chapter 3: The working lives of Africans in Britain

What became of the Africans who came to Britain? This chapter seeks to outline the varying occupations they followed and to explore the conditions in which they lived. The erroneous idea that Africans came to Britain as a result of slave trading has often led to the assumption that they then became slaves in these islands, or undertook menial work akin to slavery. It has been also been assumed that the black population resided predominantly in royal, aristocratic or gentry households. Ruth Cowhig, a literary critic of *Othello*, asserted that ‘there were several hundreds of black people living in the households of the aristocracy and the landed gentry’.¹ However, the evidence suggests a different picture. The Africans found at court and in noble and gentry households were, in fact, a tiny minority. We have more evidence of Africans living in merchant households and indeed the majority of Africans in England are not recorded as having masters at all.

There were at least 11 Africans known to have served at the Scottish and English courts between 1500 and 1640, with more than half of these in Edinburgh. The presence of at least 5 black people at the court of James IV of Scotland is strongly attested by over 90 entries in the Scottish Treasurer’s accounts between 1501 and 1569. Further African individuals appear in the entourage of the regent James Stewart, earl of Moray in 1568-70 and Anne of Denmark in 1590-94.² In England, Catherine of Aragon brought some African attendants with her in 1501.³ Elizabeth I had at least one black servant, James I employed a black trumpeter, while his wife Anne and his son, Charles I, were both

¹ R. Cowhig, ‘Blacks in English Renaissance Drama’, in D. Dabydeen (ed.), *The Black Presence in English Literature* (Manchester 1985), p. 5.

² Appendix, Household Accounts, nos 1-70, 72-82, 86-7, 89-97, 99-100. As they are rarely referred to by name it is difficult to assess exactly how many individuals there were at James IV’s court. I have not included the two African friars (nos. 76, 77, 82) in this total, as they only visited for a short time.

³ Chapter 2, pp. 124-5.

portrayed with black attendants.⁴

Court fashions were echoed in aristocratic households. Peter Fryer wrote in 1984: ‘Towards the end of the 16th century it was beginning to be the smart thing for titled and propertied families in England to have a black slave or two among the household servants’. He then notes Lady Raleigh and the Earl of Dorset as early followers of the trend, but admits that ‘the practice was not to become general until the second half of the seventeenth century’.⁵ Since Fryer wrote, more 16th and early 17th century examples of blacks in noble and gentry households have been identified, which enables us to examine them as a separate phenomenon to those that were to appear later. The earliest example is the ‘more’ in the household of the Bishop of Moray in Scotland in 1512.⁶ There were certainly 11 Africans serving in English noble households between 1583 and 1646, and at least 11 in English gentry households between 1560 and 1623.⁷

In fact, there were more Africans working in merchant households, mostly in London, Southampton, Plymouth and Bristol, than in royal, aristocratic and gentry households put together.⁸ Further to this, some Africans are recorded as living in more lowly households, such as those of craftsmen or widows.⁹ Typically, we have far more

⁴ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 101-3, Burials, no. 72; below p. 174. For Africans in European royal and aristocratic households see: M. Kaufmann, ‘Courts, Blacks at Early Modern European Aristocratic’ in *Encyclopaedia of Blacks in European Culture*, ed. E. Martone (2 vols., Westport, CT, 2009), I, 163-6.

⁵ P. Fryer, *Staying Power: the History of Black People in Britain* (1984), p. 9.

⁶ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 90.

⁷ Nobles: Appendix, Burials, nos. 24, 48, Household Accounts, nos. 98, 105-111, 114-125, Diaries and Letters, nos. 11, 20. Gentry: Baptisms nos. 4, 47, Burials nos. 11, 29, 78, Court Records, nos. 3, 16, Diaries and Letters, nos. 7, 25, Church and Municipal Accounts, nos. 11, 12, Wills and Inventories, no. 2, Tax Returns, no. 10.

⁸ I have identified a total of 46 Africans in merchant households, as opposed to a total of 33 in royal, gentry and aristocratic households combined.

⁹ For example, Stephen Driffield, a London needlemaker and Mrs Jane Johnson, widow, of Chester.

information, though still precious little, about individuals higher up the social scale. We can use this evidence to identify the types of roles Africans played in British society. Lower down the scale, where few, if any, details remain, we must draw more speculative conclusions, based on the occupation and wealth of the master.

In 1984, Peter Fryer wrote that Africans in Britain were ‘used...in three capacities: as household servants (the majority); as prostitutes or sexual conveniences for well-to-do Englishmen and Dutchmen; and as court entertainers’.¹⁰ Further examination of the evidence here assembled presents a qualitatively different picture. Certainly, Africans did serve in all these roles, but they were not limited to them, nor so passively ‘used’ as Fryer suggested. Strikingly, there is more evidence in the London Bridewell court records of African men using prostitutes than of African prostitutes serving English clients. We can also flesh out the category of ‘household servants’ to give more detail of the different kinds of work Africans performed in households. It is also important to stress here that domestic service was an extremely common occupation in Britain at this time. Even the sons of aristocrats spent some time in a great household as part of their education. There was no shame in being a servant. Scholars such as Imtiaz Habib and Gustav Ungerer have assumed that when a black person is described as a servant, he is in fact, a slave.¹¹ We should not elide the clear boundaries between servitude and slavery in this way.¹²

G. K. Hunter has characterized the black people at the Scottish court as one of the

Appendix, Burials, nos. 9, 81.

¹⁰ Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 8.

¹¹ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 178; G. Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery* (Madrid, 2008), pp. 71, 94.

¹² I will discuss the legal status of Africans in Britain in Chapter 5.

‘human menageries that the courts of the Renaissance liked to possess’.¹³ Coupled with Fryer’s feeling that black servants were a ‘smart thing’, one might get the impression that these people existed purely as accessories, or props, with a merely decorative function. Paul Griffiths recently wrote that ‘there was an exoticism that was enough to make African servants a mark of fashion in plush homes and even at the royal court’.¹⁴ It is easy to see how later portraits of aristocratic ladies attended by ‘blackamoor’ servants, such as that of Charles II’s mistress Louise de K  roualle by Pierre Mignard (1682) could give this impression.¹⁵ However an examination of household accounts and other slivers of information, reveals a rather different picture. These individuals fulfilled much more functional roles, such as porters, gardeners or laundresses. Indeed, far greater numbers served in households small enough to force them to be functional. Black servants were recompensed for their service much as their English contemporaries were. Some were paid wages, others rewarded on occasion, others were paid in kind.¹⁶ In fact, they were treated well enough that they began to cause resentment, at least according to Caspar Van Senden, who argued in 1601 that ‘blackamoors...are fostered and powered here, to the great annoyance of her [the Queen’s] own liege people that covet the relief which these people consume’.¹⁷

¹³ G.K. Hunter, ‘Othello and Colour Prejudice’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 53 (1967), p. 145.

¹⁴ P.Griffiths, *Lost Londons Change, Crime, and Control in the Capital City, 1550-1660* (2008), p. 74.

¹⁵ Pierre Mignard, ‘Louise de K  roualle, Duchess of Portsmouth’ (1682), National Portrait Gallery, London. NPG 497 [<http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw05102/Louise-de-Kroualle-Duchess-of-Portsmouth?LinkID=mp07314&search=sas&sText=mignard&OOnly=true&role=art&rNo=2>, accessed 26 September 2011]. See K.F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (1995), pp. 242-252 and S.D. Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges: Slavery and the Transformation of English Society, 1640-1700* (2007), pp. 197-214 for further examples of such portraits.

¹⁶ A. Sim, *Masters and Servants in Tudor England* (2006), pp. 44-5.

¹⁷ Appendix, *Diaries and Letters*, no. 18.

The aspect of Africans' lives that we have the most information on is what they wore, as many of the entries in household accounts relate to the purchase of clothing. This, however, is interesting evidence to interrogate. How much was spent and how often? In an age where sumptuary laws regulated attire for the whole population, what can we learn of Africans' role from their wardrobes? Elaborate costumes might support a hypothesis that they were put on display, or merely place them in a court where high fashion was necessary for all. Clothes are also an interesting indicator of the level of comfort enjoyed by the individual.

The experience of some Africans in Britain shows that individuals might serve more than one master in the course of their lives and furthermore, that some became financially independent. The evidence of these few Africans who served no one, and yet survived must cause us to look again at the many brief uninformative references to 'blackamoors' in the archives and wonder if they too found independence.

Roles

Within royal or aristocratic households

High class courtiers and soldiers

Some evidence of individuals who enjoyed a high status at court has emerged. 'Peter the More' was present at the court of James IV of Scotland intermittently between February 1501 and August 1504. Peter's first stay at court, as far as we can learn from the records of payments made to him by the king, lasted for three months from February until May

1501, when 5 French crowns were ‘giffin to Petir the Moryen, quhen he passit his way in France be the Kingis command’. There is no further clue as to why the king had commanded him to travel to France. He seems to have been in France for over two years, as he is not mentioned again until January 1504. From then until August 1504 he appears 12 times in the Treasurer’s accounts. He is paid a monthly pension of 14s, and further unspecified payments are made to him. He travelled around Scotland with the peripatetic court, as the king desired, at the king’s expense until August 1504 when he was paid £3 ‘to pas his way for ever’. All in all, the total expenditure on Peter the Moor was £20 6s 7d, with £14 13s 4d spent on him in the 7 months he was at court in 1504. He was clearly a favoured courtier, with a large degree of freedom of movement.¹⁸

Recently, Ungerer has uncovered evidence of a high status woman at the Tudor Court. He recounts that after Katherine of Aragon’s marriage to Henry VIII in 1509:

Catalina de Cardones ‘exclava que fue de la dicha reyna’ kept her position as lady of the queen’s bedchamber ‘retrete’, in charge of making the royal bed ‘le hazia la cama’. Catalina, who held the position of maid-of-honour was a Morisca, a Christianized Spanish Mooress, that is a blackamoor in stereotyped Tudor parlance. She was the wife of a Moorish soldier, a crossbowman.¹⁹

Such a position, so close to the Queen’s person, was highly sought after. Catalina’s husband, the ‘Moorish crossbowman’ has some similarities with the ‘Mour’ who was billeted at Hume, Berwickshire in 1549 and recommended in a letter from Lady Home to Mary of Guise as being ‘as scharp a man as rydis’. This may or may not have been Sir Pedro Negro, a mercenary soldier who served Henry VIII from 1545, and was later

¹⁸ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 1-8, 11-13, 15, 17-19.

¹⁹ Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of Slavery*, p. 97; Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 85.

knighted by Protector Somerset in 1547.²⁰

Musicians and entertainers

There are several examples of Africans working as musicians and entertainers, such as John Anthony, of Stepney, who was described as ‘Musician and Maurus’ in 1615.²¹ Africans were certainly associated with music in the early modern mind. In Shakespeare’s *Love’s Labour’s Lost* (c.1594), for example, as the masque begins, and ‘trumpets sound’, the stage direction reads: ‘enter blackamoors with music’.²² More specifically, we find them attached to particular instruments, especially the trumpet and the drum. In 1694, Charles Gildon noted in a commentary on Shakespeare’s *Othello* the fact that Africans often served as trumpeters in English society:

Tis granted a Negro here does seldom rise above a trumpeter...But then that proceeds from the vice of mankind, which is the poet’s duty to correct.²³

In fact the trend to employ African trumpeters in Europe stretches back to at least 1194, when the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry VI (1165-1197), was accompanied by turbaned black trumpeters on his triumphal entry into Sicily.²⁴ Two African trumpeters appear in the English records. The first was John Blanke, the ‘blacke trumpet’, who was present at the Tudor court from at least 1507, and went on to serve Henry VIII. He performed at Henry VII’s funeral and Henry VIII’s coronation in 1509.²⁵ He is depicted with his trumpet in the Westminster Tournament Roll of 1511, a 60 foot-long illuminated

²⁰ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no.2; M. Kaufmann, ‘Sir Pedro Negro: what colour was his skin?’, *Notes and Queries*, 253, no. 2 (June 2008), pp. 145-6. Negro’s ethnic identity remains uncertain: Methodology, pp. 54-5.

²¹ Appendix, Court Records, no. 27.

²² *Love Labour’s Lost*, V. ii. 157-158.

²³ C.Gildon, ‘Some Reflections on Mr. Rymer’s Short View’ in his *Miscellaneous Letters* (1694), cited in *Othello: Authoritative Text, Sources and Contexts, Criticism*, ed. E. Pechter (2004), p. 212.

²⁴ P.H.D. Kaplan, ‘Black Africans in Hohenstaufen Iconography,’ *Gesta*, 26, no. 1 (1987), p. 29.

²⁵ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 83-4.

manuscript, alongside the other court trumpeters, wearing a matching livery and united in their celebration of the birth of a (short-lived) new prince.²⁶ Almost a century later, we learn from the burial record of ‘Anne Vause, a black-more’ at St. Botolph’s Aldgate on April 27 1618 that her husband Anthonie was a ‘Trompetter’.²⁷ Many of the records in this parish refer to musicians employed by the Crown at the Tower of London, which is the most likely place Anthony would be playing his trumpet.²⁸

At least one African was employed as a trumpeter outside the court setting. In the early seventeenth century, there was a ‘Moir’ named Harry Domingo in the employ of the Burgh of Aberdeen. In 1605-6 he was to be found ‘sownding the trumpet at the proclaiming’ of letters ‘from the counsall, to charge his Majesties lieges to apprehend Thomas Persie and his complices’.²⁹

The trumpet was not the only instrument Africans are known to have played. In 1491, Richard Hortensell, beadle of Godshouse, was fined for his involvement in a fray with ‘a blakman that was a taboryn in the galey of Hampton’. The ‘galey’ was probably part of the Florentine or Venetian state galley fleets which used Southampton as their English base. The ‘taboryn’ was a drummer, who might usually play the tabor alongside a piper to accompany dancing, but in this case probably kept time for the strokes of the galley’s

²⁶ Illustration no. 1; Methodology, p. 44.

²⁷ Appendix, Burials, no. 72; Chapter 4, p. 238.

²⁸ E. Marshall Denkinger, ‘Minstrels and Musicians in the Registers of St. Botolph Aldgate’, *Modern Language Notes*, 46, no. 6. (Jun., 1931), pp. 395-398.

²⁹ Appendix, Church and Municipal Accounts, no. 7.

oars.³⁰ The employment of black musicians onboard ship was not unusual in Europe.³¹

James IV employed a ‘Moryen taubronar’ or drummer at the Scottish court from April 1504 to August 1506.³² He was part of an extensive entertainment staff, including four Italian minstrels and some other drummers, namely ‘Guilliam taubronar, Adam Boyd, his son, Ansle, Guilliame’s man, taubronaris’.³³ In February 1505, he devised a dance for 12 dancers, who were to wear costumes that were half black and half white, to be performed on ‘Fasteringis Evin’, that is Shrove Tuesday. In March 1505, he was given 28s ‘to pay for the paynting of his taubroun’(drum).³⁴ This considerable sum suggests that his drum was painted in a highly decorative manner.

Perhaps the success of this entertainment was part of the motivation behind the organisation of an even more lavish courtly celebration, ‘the justing of the wild knyght for the black lady’, a chivalric tournament held by James IV in June 1507.³⁵ The Tournament was presided over by the ‘black lady’, probably one of the African women present at court at that time.³⁶ James IV himself was dressed as the wild or black knight:

³⁰A. Ruddock, ‘Alien Merchants in Southampton in the Later Middle Ages’, *The English Historical Review*, 61, no. 239 (Jan., 1946), p. 12.

³¹K.J.P. Lowe, ‘The stereotyping of black Africans in Renaissance Europe’, in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, p. 39.

³²He first appears in the records on 12 April 1504, when he was paid five French crowns. There are 30 entries which mention him explicitly as the ‘taubronar’ between then and 24 March 1507: Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 9, 10, 14, 16, 20-27, 30, 33, 34, 36, 37, 40, 41, 43, 45, 47, 50, 51, 53-6, 58, 62, 67.

³³Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 20-22, 25-27, 40, 50.

³⁴Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 34, 36.

³⁵Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 60; *Lindesay of Pitscottie’s Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, ed. Æ. J.G. Mackay (Scottish Text Soc., XLII, Edinburgh, 1899), pp. 242-4; R. Fleissner, ‘Dunbar’s Sultry Pre-Shakespearian Lady’, *The Upstart Crow*, 3 (Tennessee, Fall 1980), pp. 88-96.

³⁶See Methodology, pp. 43-4 for discussion of the black lady’s ethnicity.

as Pitscottie reported, he

iustit himselff dissaguysed onknawkin and he was callit the black knicht quha
gave battell to all thame that wald fecht for thair ladyis saik.³⁷

The Tournament was advertised on the Continent in France, England and Denmark, and the treasurer paid 10 shillings for ‘tua quaris gold to illumyn the articules send in France for the justing of the wild knyght for the blak lady’: the document itself cost 42 shillings to create.³⁸ It was taken to France by Sir Anthony d’Arcy, Sieur de la Bastie of Dauphine, a French knight favoured by the king, who attended the black lady, along with Stewart of Aubigny, dressed in white damask.³⁹ It was so popular that it was repeated again in May 1508, and inspired William Dunbar’s poem to *Ane Blak Moir*. Having described the lady, Dunbar explains that:

Quhai for hir saek with speir and scheld
Preiffis maest mychttelye in the feld
Sall kis and with hir go in grippis,
And fra thyne furth hir luff sall weld-
My ladye with the mekle lippis.

And quhai in felde receaves schaem
And tynis thair his knyghtlie name
Sall cum behind and kis hir hippis
And nevir to uther confort claem:
My ladye with the mekle lippis.⁴⁰

[Who for her sake with spear and shield
Fights most mightily in the field
Shall kiss and embrace her
And from thenceforth her love shall wield
My lady with the thick lips

³⁷ *Lindesay of Pitscottie’s Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, ed. Mackay, p. 243.

³⁸ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 60.

³⁹ J.W. Baxter, *William Dunbar: a Biographical Study* (Edinburgh, 1952), p. 165; *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. J. Kinsley (Oxford, 1979), p. 308.

⁴⁰ *The Poems of William Dunbar*, Kinsley, p. 106.

And who in field receives shame
 And tarnishes his knightly name
 Shall come behind and kiss her hips
 And never to other comfort claim:
 My lady with the thick lips.]

The black lady played a central part in this spectacle, sitting in a 'chair triumphale' decorated with red Flemish taffeta, and taffeta 'flouris and pansies'.⁴¹ As Pitscottie has it, the 'turnament and iusting' lasted 40 days, and the black knight (James IV) was victorious throughout. One wonders whether he did indeed kiss the black lady in the way that Dunbar describes. Once the jousting was over:

The king caused to make a great triumph and banquet in Holyrood house which lasted the space of three days, beginning at 9 in the morning and lasting til 9 at night... between every course there was a farce or play, some spoken, some necromancy, which caused men to see things appear which were not. And so at the...play upon the third day there came a cloud out of the roof of the hall, as appeared to men, which opened and collected up the black lady in the presence of them all that she was no more seen, but this was done by the art of necromancy for the king's pleasure [by] one called Bishop Andrew Forman who was a magician and served the king at such times for his pastime and pleasure.⁴²

In this spectacular way, with the black lady appearing to disappear in a cloud of smoke, the Scottish court was able to follow the fashion for court entertainments and pageantry featuring black figures.

Although African musicians were employed by aristocrats as well as royals elsewhere in Europe, there is little evidence of this trend reaching Britain, although a 'Blynd Moore'

⁴¹ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 65; *ALHTS*, III, 258.

⁴² *Lindesay of Pitscottie's Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, ed. Mackay, p. 244.

was recorded amongst the musicians in the Earl of Leicester's service in 1559-1561.⁴³

These concrete examples of black entertainers do much to support the more ethereal evidence of a 1575 painting depicting 'Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth'.⁴⁴ In 1940, A.C. Sewter pointed out amongst the many groups of figures portrayed a 'negro band, which is seen between Mars and the fountain and the negro boy dancers beyond the fountain to the right, all of them dressed in scarlet'.⁴⁵ Whether these performers were attached to Leicester's household or the royal household remains uncertain. Indeed, Sewter's identification of Kenilworth as the setting of the scene has since been questioned.⁴⁶ Robert Laneham's detailed account of the festivities at Kenilworth in 1575 made no mention of black entertainers.⁴⁷ Nonetheless their inclusion in this painting shows that they were considered central to a royal entertainment. Another pictorial piece of evidence which shows that masques involving black characters were also in vogue in gentry houses is the unusual biographical portrait of Sir Henry Unton, painted posthumously for his widow c.1596. The main scene shows the masque of Mercury and Diana being performed at his wedding in 1572. The procession behind these main characters consists of small, childlike black and white figures, which have been identified as Cupids.⁴⁸

⁴³ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 98.

⁴⁴ Illustration no. 2; A.C. Sewter, 'Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 76 (March 1940), pp. 70-76. In 1940, the panel was at Cold Overton Hall, nr Oakham, Leicestershire, in the possession of a Mr. J.F. Montagu. The painting was sold at Southeby's in 1991 and is now in a private collection.

⁴⁵ Sewter, 'Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth', p. 75.

⁴⁶ The attribution to Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder has also been questioned, with Lucas van Valckenborch a recent candidate. T.F. Heck, *Picturing Performance: the Iconography of the Performing Arts in Concept and Practice*, (1999), p. 73.

⁴⁷ *Robert Laneham's Letter (1575): a general critical edition*, ed. R.J. P. Kuin (Amsterdam, 1973).

⁴⁸ Illustration no.4; R. Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits* (1969), p. 315.

This leads us once more into the territory of whether some of these performers were counterfeit, rather than true ‘blackamoors’.⁴⁹ In 1566, on the occasion of the baptism of the future James VI and I, six shillings was laid out from the royal coffers for: ‘thre lamis skynnis quhairof was maid four bonnets of fals hair to the saidis mores’.⁵⁰ It is unclear from the text of the description of the entertainment following the baptism of James’s son Prince Frederick Henry of Scotland in 1594 whether a similar costume was required:

there came into the sight of them all, a *Black-Moore*, drawing (as it seemed to the beholders) a triumphal Chariot (& before it, the melodious noise of the Trumpets & Howboyes) which Chariot entred the Hall, the motion of the whole frame (which was twelve foot long, and seven foot broad) was so artificial within it selfe, that it appeared to be drawne in, onely by the strength of a *Moore*, which was very richly attired, his traces were great chaines of pure gold... This Chariot which should have bene drawne in by a *Lyon* (but because his presence might have brought some feare, to the nearest, or that the sight of the lights and torches might have commoued his tameness) It was thought meete, that the *Moore* should supply that roome.⁵¹

However, there was an African in Queen Anne’s household at that time, and so it is plausible that he was the one to perform at the christening. A manuscript entitled ‘The Estates of the King and Quenis Majesties Houshald Reformit, begynnand on Monunday the First Day of Februarie 1590’, lists ‘Ane Moir’ as a member of ‘The Quenis Majesties Househald’. This could possibly be explained as a female named Ann, were it not for the further reference under ‘The Noumer and Names to be Servit at Tables’, where ‘The Moir’ is listed with others at the first table in the ‘Quenis Maister Househaldis Hall’.

Further to this, the Treasurer’s Accounts for October 1590 include a payment to the tailor

⁴⁹ See Methodology, pp. 42-4.

⁵⁰ *ALHTS*, XII, 406.

⁵¹ W. Fowler, *A True Report of the Most Tryumphant, and Royall Accomplishment of the Baptisme of the Most Excellent, Right High, and Mightie Prince, Henry Fredericke, by the Grace of God, Prince of Scotland, and now Prince of Wales* (1603), unpaginated.

James Inglis to make up clothes for ‘four pages of the Quenis Majesties and a Moir’.⁵²

This ‘moir’ may have been a veteran pageant performer by 1594, if he had made his debut at the ceremonial entrance of Queen Anne into Edinburgh in 1590. A Danish account of that occasion related:

Because of the numerous people who were pressing to see the queen, fifty people had been ordered to walk the whole time in front of her majesty's coach to make space and room. These people were masked with faces of lead, iron and copper which were made so cleverly that it was not easy to tell that they were made of these materials, so natural were they. Some had blackened their faces so that their heads were just like those of blackamoors, *but an absolutely real and native blackamoor was their leader*. He had a drawn sword. On their bodies they only had the sort of tunics seamen wear, something like boatsmen's half smocks, and these were made of white bliant with half-sleeves and no collar. Their necks, arms and hands were blackened, and around their necks they had beautiful gold chains.⁵³

Scottish accounts do not mention this ‘native blackamoor’, but there seems no reason to doubt the Danish observer.⁵⁴ The existence of one African performer in Edinburgh in 1590 gives credence to the otherwise questionable story about James’ trip to Oslo in 1589 described by J.A. Gade:

Wishing to make the best of his surroundings and amuse the populace, as far as lay in his power, he ordered four negro boys, whom he had brought with him, to dance in the snow before the royal chaise on its return from the wedding sermon. As they were ordered to wear no clothes, so that all might enjoy their strange color, three of them died the next few days of pneumonia, ‘but Anna’ says the chronicler, ‘found grace in her Scotch Lord’s company’.⁵⁵

⁵² Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 111,112.

⁵³ D. Stevenson, *Scotland's Last Royal Wedding: the Marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark with a Danish Account of the Marriage Translated by Peter Graves* (Edinburgh, 1997), p. 109.

⁵⁴ *Papers Relative to the Marriage of King James the Sixth of Scotland with the Princess Anna of Denmark, A.D. M.D.LXXXIX. and the form and manner of Her Majesty's coronation at Holyroodhouse. A.D. M.D.XC.*, ed.J.T.Gibson Craig (Bannatyne Club, XXVI, Edinburgh, 1828), pp. 40, 49.

⁵⁵ J.A. Gade, *Christian IV, King of Denmark and Norway* (1927), p. 39. Gade does not elaborate on which chronicler he is quoting. This story has been taken at face value by some: Habib, pp. 128, 230, Index, no. 174.1; Hall, *Things of Darkness*, p. 128. However, Clare MacManus and Sujata Iyengar argue that there is in fact no evidence for this story. S. Iyengar, *Shades of Difference: Mythologies of Skin Color in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, 2005), p. 82, n. 14; C. MacManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna*

Gade's reference to a chronicler lends the story some authenticity. However, it is the detail that three of the four boys died that makes this account ring true. For this circumstance would fit with the appearance of a solitary African in Edinburgh later in the year. Thus, there appear to have been African dancers employed by James VI at the Scottish court before his trip to Norway for the wedding of 1590.

The mixture of real and feigned 'blackamoors' at the entry into Edinburgh is a fascinating development from the trend which emerged in pageantry for 'blackamoor' whiffers who would push back the crowd before the main procession.⁵⁶ 'Moors' featured in the London Lord Mayor's pageants in 1519, 1521, 1524, 1536, 1541, 1551, 1589, 1609, 1611 and 1624.⁵⁷ Between 1585 and 1692 there were 19 recorded pageants featuring African characters.⁵⁸ Certainly using true 'blackamoors' saved the money that otherwise had to be spent on wigs and black face-paint. Anne's commissioning of Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness* in 1605 and its sequel, the *Masque of Beauty* (1606), in which the black daughters of Niger seek beauty and become white, thanks to the rays of the British sun

of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Start Court 1590-1619 (Manchester 2003), pp. 76-77. There is a possibility of there being some Danish evidence for this event, but it does not appear in the Danish account published in Stevenson, *Scotland's Last Royal Wedding* or in the latest English-language biography of Anne of Denmark: J.L. Barroll, *Anne of Denmark, Queen of England: a Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia, 2001). Stevenson suggests that the story arose from confusion with the blacked-up whiffers who performed in Edinburgh.

⁵⁶ A whiffler was 'One of a body of attendants armed with a javelin, battle-axe, sword, or staff, and wearing a chain, employed to keep the way clear for a procession or at some public spectacle.' The OED dates the word's first use to 1539. 'whiffler, n.1', *OED*, [http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/228310, accessed 26 September 2011]

⁵⁷ *A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London, 1485-1640*, ed. J. Robertson and D.J. Gordon (Malone Soc., III, Oxford, 1954), xvii, xviii, xxv, n. 4, 4-7, 9, 27, 28, 38, 81; Hunter, 'Othello and Colour Prejudice', p. 145; A.G. Barthelemy, *Black Face, Maligned Race: the Representations of Blacks in English Drama from Shakespeare to Southerne* (1987), pp. 42-49; Iyengar, *Shades of Difference*, pp. 203-8; Fryer, *Staying Power*, pp. 25-27.

⁵⁸ Barthelemy, *Black Face, Maligned Race*, p. 47; P. Fryer, *Staying Power*, pp. 25-27.

(which represented King James) shows a continuing interest in African-themed entertainments.⁵⁹ However, there was no role for a true 'blackamoor' in Jonson's script. Thus, the Moor that seems to have arrived with Anne from Denmark in 1590 does not seem to have survived to perform at the English court.

Stables

Africans were often employed in royal and aristocratic stables across Europe. In 1507 the Duke of Medina Sidonia had 7 black slaves working in his stables in Seville. Don Antonio, Prior of Crato (1531-1595) had a Moor named Antonio Luis working in his stable in Évora, brought from Tangiers, where he had been governor. Teodosio I of Bragança had 20 black stable boys.⁶⁰

The evidence of this trend being adopted in Britain is mostly visual.⁶¹ Kim F. Hall has brought to scholarly attention an anonymous, posthumous portrait of Peregrine Bertie, lord Willoughby d'Eresby (d.1601), which now hangs at Grimsthorpe Hall in Lincolnshire: he is depicted on horseback attended by a black page.⁶² The motif is repeated in a 1617 painting by Paul van Somer, which shows Anne of Denmark accompanied by a black page attending her horse.⁶³ In the early 1630s, Charles I and

⁵⁹ B. Jonson, *The Characters of Two Royall Masques: The One of Blacknesse, The Other of Beautie* (1608).

⁶⁰ Fonseca, 'Black Africans in Portugal during Cleynaerts's visit' and A. Martin Casares, 'Free and freed black Africans in Granada in the time of the Spanish Renaissance' both in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, pp. 117-8, 255-256.

⁶¹ One 'Fraunces Negro' in the Queen's stables was taxed 20s on £10 fees and wages in the lay subsidy return of 1523. However, although he was described as a 'straunger' we cannot be certain of his ethnic origin. *Returns of Aliens*, III, p. 301. Habib Index, no. 98.1.

⁶² Illustration no. 6; Hall, *Things of Darkness*, p. 5.

⁶³ Illustration no. 7; Paul van Somer (c.1576-1621/2), 'Anne of Denmark', 1617, oil on canvas 265.4 x 208.3 cm, Royal Collection, RCIN 405887.

[<http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/eGallery/object.asp?maker=VANSOMER&object=405887&row=0&detail=about>, accessed 17 April 2008]

Henrietta Maria are depicted 'departing for the chase' in a painting by Daniel Mytens.⁶⁴

Again, the horse is attended by a black page. However, unlike the page in the earlier portrait of Anne, this one is wearing an exotic lion skin. By contrast with van Somer's more sober rendering, the Mytens image comprises one of the central questions of this chapter: were African servants conceived of primarily as functional or decorative?

Mytens's black succeeds in being both.

Kitchen

Blacks were also employed in the kitchen, a role that certainly seems more functional than decorative. The precedent was set in Portugal: King Joao III (1502-1557) gave his bride Catherine of Austria (1507-1578) an African pastry chef and confectioner named Domingos de Florenca as a wedding present in 1526. They also had a black cook named Manuel.⁶⁵ In England, a century later, Richard Sackville, third earl of Dorset employed 'John Morockoe, a blackamoor' in his Kitchen and Scullery at Knole.⁶⁶ In an even more responsible and thus high status, role, 'James the Blackamoor' served as the cook in Henry Bouchier the fifth Earl of Bath's Devon household from 1640 to 1646.⁶⁷ Although the household accounts date from 1640, the year after Henry moved to Tawstock, having married Lady Rachel Fane,⁶⁸ James seems to have been present in the area since at least April 1633, when 'James a Blacke Moore Man' was baptised in the parish church of

⁶⁴ Illustration no. 8; Daniel Mytens (c.1590-1647), 'Charles I and Henrietta Maria Departing for the chase', c.1630-2, oil on canvas, 282 x 377.3 cm, Royal Collection, RCIN 404771. [<http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/eGallery/object.asp?searchText=mytens&object=404771&row=9&detail=about>, accessed 17 April 2008]

⁶⁵ A. Jordan, 'Images of Empire: slaves in the Lisbon household and court of Catherine of Austria', in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, p. 158.

⁶⁶ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 113.

⁶⁷ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 116-124.

⁶⁸ V. Stater, 'Bouchier, Henry, fifth earl of Bath (c.1587-1654)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/66562>, accessed 29 March 2008]

Tawstock, St. Peter.⁶⁹ This suggests that he may have been a member of the previous Tawstock household, under Edward Bouchier, the fourth earl, and Henry's cousin.⁷⁰ Once again, the experience of John Morocco and James 'the Blackamoor' shows that Africans were skilled and useful workers, not mere playthings.

Gardening or Guarding?

Further evidence of Africans employed in practical roles by their masters can be found. Take the case of the Bristol gardener in 1560, for example. Anne White, a 70 year old widow, testified in a 1580 Star Chamber case that twenty years earlier Sir John Young of Bristol 'did appointe a blacke moore to kepe the possession of his garden'. Her husband, Giles White, had owned the neighbouring garden and 'did appointe others to keepe the possession of his garden, in likewise, for that the said gardens lay open'. Witnesses in the case were asked whether Young had 'set a Blackmore he had with weapons ther to threaten menace and misuse the said Giles his wife and... whether by his extreme dealing did hee force the said Giles to geve his garden over to him against his will'.⁷¹ Although no witnesses confirmed this allegation, the whole character of the evidence casts this 'blacke moore' as a guard rather than a horticulturalist. The appointment of such guards for open gardens seems to have been normal practice. The garden was not directly attached to Sir John's house, and so may have needed extra protection. This role was certainly more practical than decorative.

The porter

⁶⁹ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 53.

⁷⁰ Unfortunately no detailed household records survive for the earlier period. A list of the household, c.1638 merely lists 'A cooke and an undercooke'. Centre for Kentish Studies, U269/A527.

⁷¹ Appendix, Court Records, no. 3.

Edward Swarthy alias Nigro, ‘being a negro or Blackamore’ worked as a porter in the 1590s at Whitecross Manor in Lydney, Gloucestershire, the home of Sir Edward Winter.⁷² Some idea of Swarthy’s duties can be gleaned from Anthony Maria Browne, Viscount Montague’s Household Book of 1595, in which he writes of ‘The Porter and his office’:

I will that the Porter in tyme of extradordanarie action, or att solemne feastes (as Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntyde) have his messe of meate into his office, that he may give his diligent attendance att the gate, as well as for the repayre of strangers, as for any disordered parsons [sic], that would come in att noe convenient tyme and that he doe answer all comers of meaner sort att the gate. I will that... he keepe the conduyte cleane, and the ynnere Courte wth the help of the pore: the longe allyes without the gate, and the green before ytt: and that he doe assist the almoner in distributing of the almes: and keep good order within his office: he may conveniently weare a gowne all winter, and att solemne tymes. I will that orinarlye he dyne, and suppe at the first sittinge in the hall next to the yeoman of my chamber.⁷³

The role of porter therefore was highly responsible and of a similar status to a yeoman of the chamber. The porter was also a visible member of the household, being the first individual visitors would meet. Thus, perhaps Swarthy was positioned in this highly visible role to demonstrate his master’s worldly experience. More likely however, was that Swarthy’s physical strength was helpful in this role, as porters sometimes operated like the modern-day nightclub bouncer, denying entry to any ‘disordered parsons’ (we must I think assume that Montagu’s book means ‘persons’ and not wayward priests). In Swarthy’s case, his duties included whipping disorderly servants.⁷⁴

⁷² Appendix, Court Records, no. 16.

⁷³ W.H. St. John Hope, *Cowdray and Easebourne Priory* (1919), p. 128. Although the second Viscount Montagu (1574–1629), inherited a fortune worth between £3600 and £5400 per annum from his grandfather, and therefore ran a rather grander establishment than Sir Edward, the detail is nonetheless instructive. J.G. Elzinga, ‘Browne, Anthony, first Viscount Montagu (1528–1592)’, *ODNB* [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/3667>, accessed 27 Nov 2008]

⁷⁴ See Chapter 5, pp. 280–1.

Laundress

‘Grace Robinson, a blackamoor’, worked as a laundress for the Lady Anne Clifford and her husband the Earl of Dorset, between 1613 and 1624.⁷⁵ This role is clearly the antithesis of the glamorous exotic pets we have come to expect from later portraits. As Gustav Ungerer recently showed, Grace was seated at the ‘Laundry-maid’s table’ in the Great Hall at Knole on feast days along with four English laundry-maids, and thus symbolically integrated into the household.⁷⁶ Her daily duties would have been onerous, as even with four helpmates, the task of keeping all the linen, fine clothes, tablecloths, and tapestries used in a great house in good order using the rudimentary and labour-intensive washing methods of the day would have been extremely demanding. A far cry from the later depictions of black female attendants dressed in rich clothes and pearls, Grace was more likely to be found placing a new shirt, complete with ruffles and silk embroidery into warm urine for half an hour, before boiling it in very hot water, in order to protect it from stains, no doubt blistering her hands in the process.⁷⁷

Beyond the great houses

If our knowledge of the roles of Africans in royal and gentry households is sparse, we have even less information further down the social scale. In some cases however, where the occupation of the master is known, we can draw conclusions about the role of the servant. Life in the house of a wealthy merchant, such as Paul Bayning of London, or Abraham Jennings, a wealthy merchant of Plymouth, assessed at £7 in goods in the 1641 lay subsidy, who had 11 servants, was no doubt similar to that in a gentry household, only

⁷⁵ Household Accounts, no. 114.

⁷⁶ Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of Slavery*, pp. 73-75.

⁷⁷ This was recommended by a book of advice in 1583: A. Sim, *The Tudor Housewife* (2001), p. 55.

on a smaller scale.⁷⁸ The less wealthy the employer, and the fewer servants he supported, the more likely Africans were to serve as men or maids of all work, with less defined roles. However, where the master worked in a specific industry, be it clothing or tavern-keeping, we can also infer that the African servant was also involved in that line of work.

Seamstresses and clothes makers

Mary Phillis, a ‘black more’ was described in 1597 as ‘of late servant with one Mrs Barker in marke lane a widdowe’. The late John Barker was a merchant, who had died in 1589. At the time of her baptism she was ‘servant with Millicent Porter, a sempster dwelling in the liberties of East Smithfield’.⁷⁹ Thus, she had originally served in a merchant household, but then left it for the lowlier establishment of a seamstress. It seems likely that her duties would have involved helping her mistress with her trade. ‘Symon Valencia a black moore’ was recorded as being ‘servant to Stephen Drifyeld a nedellmaker’ at his burial in 1593.⁸⁰ Valencia may have been so named after his Spanish homeland, and so may have been a particularly useful servant to his master, as he may have been able to make fine Spanish needles, like the ‘negro’ needlemaker of Cheapside recorded by William Harrison.⁸¹ In August of the same year, ‘Suzanna Peiris, a blackamoore servant to John Despinois, a hat-bandmaker’ was buried at St. Botolph Aldgate.⁸² Susanna, in working for this Spanish immigrant, may also have helped with his trade in an informal way. Similarly, the African woman in the household of ‘Thomas

⁷⁸ PWDRO 1/359/73 (1641 Poll Tax); J.C. Appleby, ‘Abraham Jennings of Plymouth: The Commercial Career of a ‘Western Trader’, c.1602-1649’, *Southern History*, 18 (1996), pp. 24-42.

⁷⁹ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 17; W. Bruce Bannerman, ed., *Registers of St Olave, Hart St.*, (Harleian Soc., 1916), pp. 11, 122.

⁸⁰ Appendix, Burials, no. 26.

⁸¹ For more on him, see below, p. 43.

⁸² Appendix, Burials, no. 25.

Browne hatmaker', in January 1603 may also have worked in the industry.⁸³

Taverners

There were also a few Africans in the households of people in the beer and tavern trade. Indeed 'working in London taverns' was the other occupation beyond domestic service that Ruth Cowhig, without citing any evidence, ascribed to Africans.⁸⁴ In 1596, Frauncis was described at his burial as 'servant to Peter Miller a beare brewer dwelling at the sign of the hartes horne in the libertie of East Smithfield'. In January 1612, 'Katherine a blacke negra servant at '[t]he horshed' was buried at Christ Church, Bristol.⁸⁵ The 'horshed' was the Horsehead Tavern, on Christmas Street. Katherine was presumably a servant to its proprietor. Two African servants in Southampton were living in the households of men who owned or ran taverns. John Jeffries owned the Dolphin Inn, Southampton's largest, where all the important visitors stayed. Richard Cornellis, Alderman and Mayor of Southampton (in 1601), who died c.1620, also owned a tavern. Both these men had an African servant in 1598-1600, according to their tax returns.⁸⁶ In 1599, a 'negress' was 'dwelling in tornebole stryete att the sine of the Swan att one Danes house who selethe beare it is harde by Clarkenwell.' She seems to have previously been employed by Dennis Edwards, a yeoman of Southampton who also kept an alehouse there. He was in fact in trouble with the local Court Leet twice in 1584 for using his alehouse for dicing and card-playing, and described as 'an extreme usserer and comenly

⁸³ Appendix, Court Records, no. 19.

⁸⁴ Cowhig, 'Blacks in English Renaissance Drama', p. 5.

⁸⁵ Appendix, Burials, nos. 36, 63.

⁸⁶ Appendix, Tax Returns, nos. 11, 19; *Southampton in the 1620s and the 'Mayflower': an Exhibition of Documents by the Southampton City Record Office to Celebrate the 350th Anniversary of the Sailing of the 'Mayflower' from Southampton in 1620*, ed. S.D. Thompson (Southampton, 1970), pp. 44, 51.

usseth unlawfull games and intyssethe men's servants to pllaye'.⁸⁷ Thus, he may have known the Dane who ran a beer shop at the sign of the Swan through the trade, and might have sent the African to try her luck in London. In all of these cases, it seems likely that the Africans in question might have served behind the bar.

Divers

Jacques Frances, from Guinea, was an expert diver working for Piero Paulo Corsi, a Venetian based in Southampton in the 1540s. Corsi, his master, was one of the Venetian salvage operators hired to recover the ordinance from the wreck of the *Mary Rose* in 1546. In 1547 his team was hired by fellow Italian Domenico Erizzo to salvage his goods that had been lost aboard the wrecked *Sancta Maria and Sanctus Edwardus*. Erizzo later accused Corsi of stealing some of what he found, and so Jacques Francis found himself testifying in defence of his master. His testimony demonstrates his skill, as he explains that he 'chauncyd to fynde in the see at the nedelles' (the Needles was a common site of shipwrecks) 100 blocks of tin, a bell and some lead which he 'dyd handell and see under water being there p[er]yshyde and forsakhy'. Thus he was a good enough diver to stay deep underwater long enough to recognize these items. Despite Frances' evidence, Corsi lost the case, and was imprisoned in the Tower for a few months. It is not known what became of Francis after his 1548 court appearance. No doubt his salvage skills continued to be in demand.⁸⁸ Africans were known for their diving skills, which were used extensively by the Spanish when diving for pearls at La Margarita, and, in Bermuda in 1622, when two black indentured servants received wages for salvage operations on a

⁸⁷ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 12; *The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602*, ed. T.B. James (Southampton Records ser., XXII, Southampton, 1979), p. 6, n. 2; below, pp. 186-7.

⁸⁸ Appendix, Court Records, nos. 1-2; below, p. 195; Chapter 2, p. 130; Chapter 5, pp. 269-70, 279-80.

shipwreck.⁸⁹ Thus, in Chapman's *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* (1596), Aegiale says he will 'Moor-like, learn to swim and dive/ into the bottom of the sea'.⁹⁰ And on Edward Fenton's 1582 voyage it was a 'Negroo' who 'cam from the North shoore to dyve for thedwardes Ancour & Cables Lost.'⁹¹

Sailors

Some Africans worked as sailors. 'Salomon Cowrder of Popler a niger sailler' appears in Stepney in September 1610.⁹² Cowrder 'came out of the East Indies', which may mean the term 'niger' is being used loosely, describing a native of Asia rather than Africa, or that Cowrder was last employed on a ship that had sailed to the East Indies, or was one of those Africans taken to the East Indies by the Portuguese, and later the Dutch. Another black sailor was Thomas Jeronimo, 'mariner and moor', who lived in Ratcliffe in 1616 with his wife Helen until his death sometime before November 1623 and was 'one of those that went to the Manillias [Philippines]' in the employ of the East India Company.⁹³ In 1619, John Anthony 'Negar now of the Towne and port of Dover Mayryner and and late one of the maryners which stayed in the shipp or pinnace called the Silver Ffaulcon under Captain John Fenner and Mr. Bacon' appears on record.⁹⁴ 'John Come Quicke, a blacke-moore so named', buried in November 1623 at St Botolph, Aldgate was servant to 'Thomas Love, a Captaine', and as such may well have served onboard ship.⁹⁵ His

⁸⁹ Morgan, 'British Encounters with Africans and African-Americans, c.1600-1780', p. 170.

⁹⁰ *The Comedies of George Chapman*, ed. T.M. Parrott (1914), p. 4.

⁹¹ *The Troublesome Voyage of Captain Edward Fenton, 1582-1583: Narratives and Documents*, ed. E.R.G. Taylor (Hakluyt Soc. 2nd ser., CXIII, Cambridge, 1959), p. 107.

⁹² Appendix, Marriages, no. 6.

⁹³ Appendix, Court Records, no. 26, Diaries and Letters, nos. 21-22.

⁹⁴ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 19; Chapter 2, p. 143-4.

⁹⁵ Appendix, Burials, no. 81; Chapter 2, p. 156.

unusual name evokes the demanding nature of such work.⁹⁶ As we saw in Chapter 1, and Chapter 2, it was not unusual for Africans to find their way onto English ships, sometimes specifically to replace dead crew members.⁹⁷ Once aboard, they would learn the necessary skills and, if they did not die at sea, might continue to pursue a sailing career. When John Anthony arrived in Dover in 1619, he was keen to return to sea, and sought to obtain ‘cloathes and other necessaryes fitt to be used at sea, where he intendeth speedily to imploye himself.’⁹⁸

Prostitutes

Prostitution was identified by Peter Fryer as one of the main occupations of African women in early modern England.⁹⁹ He was perhaps influenced by the literary character of Lucy Negro. The main contemporary evidence for ‘Lucy Negro’ comes from the script of the *Gesta Grayorum*, performed as part of the Gray’s Inn Revels in 1594, where amongst those brought to pay homage to the Prince of Purpool is:

Lucy Negro, Abbess de Clerkenwell, holdeth the Nunnery of Clerkenwell, with the Lands and Privileges thereunto belonging, of the Prince of Purpoole by Night-Service in Cauda ie: *in the tail*, and to find a Choir of Nuns, with burning Lamps to chaunt Placebo to the Gentlemen of the Prince’s Privy-Chamber, on the Day of his Excellency’s Coronation.¹⁰⁰

Placebo means ‘I shall be pleasing’ as well as being the first word of the Vespers for the Dead, ‘Placebo Domino’.¹⁰¹ There had been a nunnery in Clerkenwell before the Dissolution of the monasteries, but now the reputation of the area was such that this

⁹⁶ No comparable names have been found, though the names of John Blanke and Philip White may also have been intended to be humorous: see n. 188 above; A. Martin Casares, ‘Free and freed black Africans in Granada in the time of the Spanish Renaissance’ in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, p. 252.

⁹⁷ Chapter 1, pp.105 and Chapter 2, p. 133.

⁹⁸ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 19.

⁹⁹ Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 8.

¹⁰⁰ *Gesta Grayorum, or the History of the High and Mightie Henry, Prince of Purpool*, ed. Bland, p. 17.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, p. 94, n. 25.

‘Lucy Negro’ is not an abbess, but a bawd. ‘Lucy Negro’ is thus the name of a character in a play. There is no indication in the script that a real woman of this name existed, yet Scobie, Fryer and Sherwood all claim that the abbess of Clerkenwell was ‘played by a woman named Lucy Negro’. Imtiaz Habib also takes her to be a real woman, calling the ‘dismissal of Lucy Negro’s blackness hasty and unwarranted’.¹⁰² In fact, the script merely names the character thus, and she was most likely played by a man, like other female characters on the Elizabethan stage. Although the play does not provide straightforward evidence of a real woman named Lucy Negro, it does appear to make a topical allusion to an individual that the audience would have recognized. Another example of this can be found in Barnabe Barnes’s *The Devil’s Charter* (1607) in which Henrico Baglioni, a ‘braggartly’ soldier serving Caesar Borgia, mentions ‘Negra Lucia’ amongst many other women, including one ‘That in Turnuliball doth keep an alehouse’.¹⁰³ The play being set in Rome, Barnes seems to have Italianized ‘Turnbull’ by adding two extra syllables. Turnbull Street (now Turnmill Street) was ‘the most disreputable street in London, a haunt of thieves and loose women’.¹⁰⁴ In Shakespeare’s *Henry IV, Part II*, Falstaff comments on Justice Shallow that he ‘hath done nothing but prate to me of the wildness of his youth, and the feats he hath done about Turnbull Street’.¹⁰⁵ The street was so notorious that it was used as a synonym for licentiousness. In 1625, Ellen Tilbury accused her neighbour of being a whore, and went on to say:

¹⁰² Scobie, *Black Britannia*, p. 8; Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 9; M. Sherwood, ‘Blacks in Tudor England’, *History Today*, 53 (October 2003), p. 41; I. Habib, *Shakespeare and race: postcolonial praxis in the early modern period* (2000), p. 31. The entire issue of Lucy Negro has been further complicated by critics seeking to identify her as Shakespeare’s Dark Lady: Introduction, p. 5.

¹⁰³ Barnabe Barnes, *The Devil’s Charter: a Tragedy Containing the Life and Death of Pope Alexander the Sixth*, ed. N. De Somogyi (1999), p. 55.

¹⁰⁴ E.H. Sugden, *A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists* (Manchester, 1925), p. 533.

¹⁰⁵ *Henry IV Part 2*, III. ii. 291-292.

‘Turnbull Street is a more fit place for thee’.¹⁰⁶

Lucy Negro, like Negra Lucia, or Black Luce, seems in fact to have been a stock character of the Elizabethan and Jacobean underworld. Scholars have identified two women who had the nickname ‘Black Luce’. One was Lucy Baynham, who Ian Archer refers to in passing as ‘the infamous Black Luce of Clerkenwell (Mrs Baynam)’.¹⁰⁷ Using the Bridewell court records, Duncan Salkeld has shown her to have been running a Clerkenwell brothel in the late 1570s. When ‘Black Luce’ is mentioned in the testimony, she is identified in the margins as ‘Lucy Baynham’ or ‘Bayntham’.¹⁰⁸ Leslie Hotson, in his book *Mr. W.H.*, discusses a poem of 1656, ‘On Luce Morgan, a Common Whore’, which begins: ‘here lies black luce, that pick-hatch drab’.¹⁰⁹ One Lucy Morgan did come before the Bridewell Court in 1598, and said that ‘she lyeth at the house of Edward Tilsley and kept the saime at Picket hatch Att the upper end of Aldersgate London.’ In 1600 she was committed to Bridewell for the crime of keeping a bawdy house.¹¹⁰ This appears to be the woman referred to in the poem, as they have the same Pick-hatch address. So, both Lucy Baynham, working in the 1570s, and Lucy Morgan, working in the 1590s, acquired the nickname ‘Black Luce’. The author of the *Gesta Grayorum* in creating the character of ‘Lucy Negro’ may have been thinking of one of these women. However, there is no evidence that either Lucy Baynham or Lucy Morgan were of

¹⁰⁶ L. Gowing, ‘Language, power and the law: women’s slander litigation in early modern London’, in J. Kermode, G. Walker, *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England* (1994), p. 30.

¹⁰⁷ I.W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (1991), p. 213.

¹⁰⁸ D. Salkeld, ‘Blacy Lucy and the “Curtizans” of Shakespeare’s London’, *Signatures*, 2 (Winter 2000), p. 5. [http://www.chiuni.ac.uk/info/documents/signature_pdfs/Signatures_Vol2.pdf, accessed 10 September 2011]

¹⁰⁹ L. Hotson, *Mr. W.H.* (1964), pp. 249-252.

¹¹⁰ Bridewell Court Book, IV, f.11 r; Hotson, *Mr. W.H.*, p. 252.

African origin.¹¹¹

Another literary reference that has been used of evidence for African prostitutes comes from *Aubrey's Brief Lives*. John Aubrey recounts that William Davenant (1606-1668), 'gott a terrible clap of a Black handsome wench that lay in Axe-yard, Westminster, whom he thought on when he speaks of Dalga in Gondibert, which cost him his Nose'.¹¹²

Davenant's critics have glossed 'Black' as 'brunette beauty', or 'dark'.¹¹³ Imtiaz Habib first asserted that this woman was a black African in his book *Shakespeare and Race* (2000).¹¹⁴ He develops this theory in his latest book *Black Lives in the English Archives* (2008), where he uses a close reading of the relevant stanzas of the 1650 poem *Gondibert* to make his case.¹¹⁵ In the poem, Gondibert and his friend Goltho encounter Dalga in Verona. In the 'Argument' to the Canto, she is called 'Black Dalga' and in stanza 31 described as a 'black Beauty', but this is no more telling than Aubrey's reference to a 'black handsome wench'.¹¹⁶ Beyond this, the only part of her anatomy explicitly described as black are her eyes. Habib's case rests on stanza 41:

They enter, and ascend, and enter then
Where *Dalga* with black Eies does Sinners draw;
And with her voice holds fast repenting Men;
To whose warm Jett, light Goltho is but Straw.¹¹⁷

He reads 'Jett' and 'light' as referring to the contrasting colours of Dalga and Goltha's

¹¹¹ Hotson, *Mr. W.H.*, p. 244 asserts that 'Black Luce was of course no more an Ethiop than the Black Prince or Black Tom Wentworth'.

¹¹² *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. O.L. Dick, (1957), p. 86; M. Edmond, 'Davenant, Sir William (1606–1668)', ODNB [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7197, accessed 1 May 2008]

¹¹³ A.H. Nethercot, *Sir William D'avenant: Poet Laureate and Playwright-Manager* (Chicago, 1938), p. 92; M. Edmond, *Rare Sir William Davenant: Poet laureate, Playwright, Civil War General, Restoration Theatre Manager* (Manchester, 1987) p. 44.

¹¹⁴ Habib, *Shakespeare and Race*, p. 30.

¹¹⁵ Habib, *Black Lives*, pp. 157-9; *Sir William Davenant's Gondibert*, ed. D.F. Gladish (Oxford, 1971), pp. 244-250 (Book III, canto vi, stanzas 31-80).

¹¹⁶ *Sir William Davenant's Gondibert*, ed. Gladish, pp. 241, 244.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

skins. However, given that Goltho is ‘but Straw’, he could equally be ‘light’-weight, or weak in Dalga’s presence: that is ‘light’ may refer to his strength rather than his skin tone. Equally, ‘Jett’ seems to describe Dalga’s voice, or her eyes, not her skin. Davenant spends some time describing Dalga, and he does not make her blackness any more explicit. He does give her ‘two black Meroen maids’ in stanza 57 (Meroe being an ancient city on the banks of the Nile),¹¹⁸ which begs the question that if he is so explicit about their origin, why not describe Dalga in similar terms? Ultimately, the black prostitute of Axeyard must continue to exist in the realm of the possible rather than the probable.

If the literary evidence for African prostitutes is weak, the concrete evidence for black prostitutes in London is even more limited. Much has been made of a letter, written in May 1599 by Denis Edwards of Southampton to Thomas Lankford, the Earl of Hertford’s secretary:

I wrotte to you as conserninge my negroe where or in what plase she was or whether you have taken penes to socer her, or noe. If you have not I praye make inquiries for her for she is sartenlye dwellinge in tornebole stryete att the sine of the Swan att one Danes house who seleth beare it is harde by Clarkenwell.’¹¹⁹

Her address in a Dane’s (or Mr. Danes?) beer shop in the notorious ‘tornebole’ (Turnbull) street has been enough for most to assume she was a prostitute. She has even been mistakenly identified with the fictional character of Lucy Negro.¹²⁰ However, Edwards’s relationship to his ‘negroe’ is not made explicit. He seems concerned with her wellbeing, and asks his friend to ‘socer’ [succour] her. When he asks ‘what plase’ she was in, could

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 247.

¹¹⁹ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 12.

¹²⁰ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 107.

he mean to enquire whether she had found a 'place', that is domestic employment? He cannot be asking where she is, because he already knows that she is certainly dwelling in Turnbull Street. When he asks Lankford to 'make enquiries', perhaps he means that he would like him to try to find her a job as a domestic servant?

The case of Anne Cobbie is less ambiguous. In 1626, Mary Hall, spinster, testified against John Bankes and his wife Jane for keeping a bawdy house, in the parish of St Clement Danes, Westminster, and reported:

There is one Anne Cobbie a tawnie Moore that is often at the said Bankes his house and this informant saith she hath heard her and divers men report that they had rather give her a peece to lye with her than an other v shillings because of her soft skinne.¹²¹

One of seven women so defamed, Anne seems to have been popular with her clients: she is the only one whose attractions are described in this way. She is often at the house, but does not live there, though no other address is given for her as it is for some of the others. Thus, there is explicit evidence of only two African prostitutes operating in early modern England, and even one of these remains ambiguous, despite the continuing influence of the literary figure of Lucy Negro.

Remuneration

Wages

There is evidence of Africans being paid wages throughout the period. The earliest records come from Scotland, where Peter the More and the More taubronar both received

¹²¹ LMA, Westminster Sessions Roll, WJ/SR(NS) 15, no. 130, Published in *Reading Early Modern Women: An Anthology of Texts in Manuscript and Print, 1550-1700*, ed. H. Ostovitch and E. Sauer (2004), p. 41.

regular payments. Peter was paid a monthly pension of 14s, which amounts to a yearly sum of £8 8s.¹²² The drummer received a quarter fee of £4 7s 6d in May 1505, November 1505, January 1506 and May 1506.¹²³ How did their wages compare with other courtiers? The taubronar's basic quarterly fee of £4 7s 6d added up to some £17 a year, which was the same payment received by the Italian minstrels. A broader comparison shows that the clerks of the Chapel Royal were paid £20 a year, and that the court poet William Dunbar only received £10 a year when he first came to court.¹²⁴ So, while the drummer could not rival the £100 p.a. received by Sir Alexander MacCulloch of Myretour, the master falconer, he was not at the bottom of the pay scale either. Peter received far less than the drummer as a regular payment, but his income is comparable to that of William Dunbar.

In England, we know that John Blanke, the 'blacke trumpet' at the Tudor court, was paid wages of 20 shillings for the month of November 1507.¹²⁵ This was a rate of 8d a day. That meant his annual salary was £12, so on a similar level to his Scottish musical counterpart. In April 1509 however, Henry VIII's 9 trumpeters were paid £2 each for their monthly wage, which was 16d a day.¹²⁶ This compares to the rate paid to a trumpeter with the Earl of Surrey in 1512, who was also paid 16d daily.¹²⁷ So perhaps court wages were doubled when Henry VIII succeeded his miserly father.¹²⁸

¹²² Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 4, 5, 8, 11. N.B the Scottish pound was worth less than the English pound.

¹²³ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 37, 41, 45, 51,

¹²⁴ This was to rise to £20 and ultimately £80p.a. *ALHTS*, III, Preface, xl. For a broader comparison of payments made to Africans and other courtiers, see M.E. Robbins, 'Black Africans at the Court of James IV', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 12 (1999), pp. 36-43.

¹²⁵ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 72.

¹²⁶ *L&P, Henry VIII*, 1515-1518, p. 1441.

¹²⁷ *L&P, Henry VIII*, 1509-1514, p. 660.

¹²⁸ If Fraunces Negro (see n. 718, above) was in fact a black man, his wages or fees of £10 for the year of 1523, would represent a level of payment commensurate with the other court employees discussed here.

Beyond the court, and a century later, we find ‘James the Blackamoor’, cook to the Earl of Bath in Tawstock, Devon, being paid wages of £1 a quarter, or £4 a year. Thus, the household accounts include entries like: ‘Item paid James Blackmoore for one quarter’s wages due at Christmas last- 01 00 00’ or ‘for half a year due at our Lady Day 1643...to James the Blackamoor the like 2 00 00.’¹²⁹ His wages are lower than those of the courtiers, but this is only to be expected in a lesser household. In fact, cooks were the highest paid servants in the kitchen, apart from the clerk of the kitchen, who kept the accounts.¹³⁰

As we saw above, Anne Cobbie was paid a ‘peece’ a time for her horizontal services. A ‘piece’ was a gold coin, worth 22 shillings at this time. Of course, Anne would not have kept all the money- the bawd John Bankes and his wife would have taken a substantial cut. Or indeed, the sum of a ‘peece’ might have been an exaggeration used to express how attractive she was, and not the actual amount required. Nonetheless, prostitution could have constituted a potentially lucrative source of income.

The sailor John Anthony was paid wages for his labour on the *Silver Falcon* in 1620, although the Mayor of Dover was slow to pay up. Going back to the original manuscript reveals that two petitions were submitted before his request for payment was granted. In the first, the complaint is:

Being informed that the soume of Twenty poundes due unto your Honours

¹²⁹ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 117-125.

¹³⁰ A.Sim, *Masters and Servants in Tudor England* (2006), p. 79.

petitioner for his wages and service in the said ship is deposited in the hands of Mr. Maior of Dover whereof he your said poor petitioner hath yet received noo parte.

In the second petition, John Anthony is even more desperate: ‘in all humble and dutifull manner beseacheth your honor to give order to Mr Maior of Dover that he may pay unto him such moneys as remaynethe in his hands’, but is willing to settle for less, suggesting that the mayor pay him ‘att the least so much thereof as may pay his debtes and defraye the chardges on necessary apparel fit and meet for sea’. Finally, Henry Mainwaring wrote to Lord Zouche from Dover Castle on 20 March 1620, confirming ‘the blacke boy is come her[e] for his money & the Maior hath very honestly payed him 17s 6d for half a year’s interest’.¹³¹ Thus, the money had been owed for 6 months, since October 1619, and John Anthony’s petitions were written over the winter period. This delay in payment was hardly unusual: the state papers are littered with similar petitions.¹³² What is more significant is that Anthony was being paid just like everybody else, and that his petitions were taken seriously by senior members of the administration.

Another African sailor, Thomas Jeronimo, had received £16 16s 10d from the East India Company for his services by November 1623.¹³³

Cash rewards for services

The payment of wages was not fully established as the main mode of remuneration for services in early modern Britain. Thus, employees were often rewarded on a more occasional basis for specific services rendered. John Blanke’s trumpet-playing services at

¹³¹ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 19.

¹³² e.g. March 1628: ‘Petition of Vincent Lovet, groom for the last expedition to Cadiz, to the same[Buckingham]. In the said voyage he received many wounds. There is 13l. 6s. due to him for his service, as may appear by Lord Valentia’s book. Sir Thomas Love in his life always put him off, saying he had no money of the King’s in his hands. Prays a further order for payment.’ *CSPD*, 1628-29, p. 51.

¹³³ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 21, see above, p. 181.

the Westminster Tournament of 1511 were paid for far more handsomely than his regular services. The King paid the ‘15 trumpeters at jousts at Westminster, 12th and 13th Feb.’ £26 13 s 4d.¹³⁴ This amounted to 17s 9d each a day, which was well over ten times as much as the usual daily fee of 16d.

Peter the More and the More taubronar’s wages were supplemented by extraordinary payments such as the 5 French crowns ‘giffin to Petir the Moryen, quhen he passit his way in France be the Kingis command’ in May 1501, or the payment of 19s 2d to the drummer in August 1506.¹³⁵ Similar payments were made to the black women at the Scottish court. Thus, in January 1513, a New Year’s gift of 10 French crowns was given to the ‘twa blak ladies’, and in August 1527 40 s was paid to ‘Helenor the blak moir’.¹³⁶

Other Africans were rewarded for services such as delivering gifts. On 28 March 1512, the ‘Bischop of Murraais [Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray’s] more, at brocht ane present to the king efter his command’ was paid 14s.¹³⁷ Harry Domingo, the ‘moir’ employed by the Burgh of Aberdeen in the early 17th century was also paid for specific tasks, rather than receiving a regular wage. Thus, in 1605-6 he was paid £1 for ‘sownding the trumpet at the proclaiming’ of letters ‘from the counsall’.¹³⁸ In other cases, the reason for the reward remains unknown. In April 1584 ‘the blackmore’ in the household of the Earl of Leicester at Wanstead was given a reward of 5 shillings. The next year, twenty shillings was recorded as ‘Gyven in reward the same day by your lordship’s

¹³⁴ *L&P, Henry VIII*, 1515-1518, p. 1449.

¹³⁵ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 3, 56.

¹³⁶ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 93, 97.

¹³⁷ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 90. See Chapter 2, p. 130.

¹³⁸ Appendix, Church and Municipal Accounts, nos. 7,8.

commandment to Mr Rawles [Raleigh's] blackamoore'.¹³⁹ This culture of reward was much the same as that used for Englishmen.

Payment in kind

It was by no means universal for household servants to be paid in cash at all in the early modern period. Many of them worked solely in return for board, lodging and clothing.

The Africans at the court of James IV were particularly well provided for because in addition to the wages, pensions and rewards already noted, they were also provided with board, lodging, clothing, transportation and other expenses. As the court was itinerant, it was necessary to pay for the Africans' travel expenses. A horse to Dumfries was provided for Peter the More in February 1504, a horse and 'lugeing' [lodging] in Stirling in May, and in June he was paid 'to cum again fra the King fra Hammiltoun'. Similarly, in July 1504, 14s was paid for a horse to Strivelin and lodging in Linlithgow for the 'More taubronar'.¹⁴⁰ That year the drummer travelled, along with four Italian minstrels to Eskdale, Dumfries, Peebles, Falkland, Strethbogy, Brechin and 'the Month'. In September 1504 he received a gift 'be the Kingis command': 'ane hors to the More taubronar, bocht fra Pete Johne, trumpet' for 6 French crowns.¹⁴¹ He also had a family, who were supported while he was away with the King. In November 1504 he was paid 14s for 'his cheldis expense, the tyme the King was at the Month'.¹⁴² Two payments of 14 s are made to his wife and child on 24 March and 22 May 1507.¹⁴³ His court career

¹³⁹ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 106, 107.

¹⁴⁰ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 7,13,15,16.

¹⁴¹ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 20-27.

¹⁴² Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 30.

¹⁴³ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 62, 64. Although the latter reads 'moris wif and his barne', thus not specifying 'taubronar', it seems likely that this payment was to the same family as the one two months earlier.

may have been brought to an untimely end due to an injury he received in the summer of 1506. Even then, the costs of his medical treatment were met by the king. On the 2nd June, a payment was made ‘to the More taubronar, to the mendis of the hurting of him’, on the 19th July, 9s was paid to his ‘leich’ or doctor, and again, on the 10th August, 35s was paid ‘to the More taubronar and his leich quhen he was hurt’.¹⁴⁴ This is the last record to mention him personally, followed by the two payments to his wife and child, and more ominously, the payment of 36s on 21 August 1507 transferring his drum to Guillaume, another drummer at court.¹⁴⁵

Elsewhere, Piero Pauli Corsi was ‘payeng for... meate and dryncke at the Dolphin’, one of Southampton’s main inns, in 1547 for Jacques Frances, the Guinea diver and his other servants.¹⁴⁶ In March 1583, Leicester’s accounts included a ‘mattress given to the blackamore’.¹⁴⁷ Besides these incidental expenses, the overwhelming majority of evidence of payments in kind made to African servants relate to the purchase of clothing.

Clothing

We have frustratingly little evidence of the daily lives or experience of Africans at court or in noble and gentry households. The one detail of their lives that we know the most about is how they dressed. This may at first seem a frivolous detail, but in fact it can help us to answer the question of whether their role was functional or decorative. For the clothes can be expected to match the occupation, as Polonius told Laertes : ‘the apparel

¹⁴⁴ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos.53, 55, 58; Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 30; Robbins, ‘Black Africans at the Court of James IV’, p. 42.

¹⁴⁵ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 67.

¹⁴⁶ Appendix, Court Records, no. 2. The Dolphin was owned by John Jeffries, see above, p. 181.

¹⁴⁷ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 105.

oft proclaims the man...'¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, this was a society where so much store was set by dress that there were legal codes to regulate what different orders of society were allowed to wear. The relative nudity of Africans in Africa as reported by travellers could lead readers to assume incivility and lustfulness.¹⁴⁹ In 1501, Thomas More disparagingly described the Spanish retinue as 'nudipedes...Ethiopes' – barefoot Ethiopians.¹⁵⁰ To be without shoes was shameful. Clothes could make all the difference. In the same year, two men from Newfoundland appeared before Henry VII 'clothid In bestys skynnys and ete Raw fflesh and spak such speech that noo man cowed undyrstand theym, and in theyr demeanure lyke to bruyt bestis'. But within two years they were seen at Westminster Palace 'apparaylyd afftyr Inglysh men... which at that time I could not discern ffrom Inglysh men tyll I was lernyd what men they were.'¹⁵¹

At the end of January 1504 a 'steik' or measure of 'chamlot' (a dress fabric of Eastern origin) was purchased in Edinburgh to make clothing for Peter the More.¹⁵² While on first glance this may seem to be an effort to exoticize him, a glance at other entries in the Treasurer's accounts show that this fabric was worn by various courtiers. King James III bought a chamlot gown in 1473. 'Twa gownis of variant champlet' were purchased for 'twa of the gentill women' in 1543.¹⁵³ Therefore, Peter was merely following court fashion.

¹⁴⁸ *Hamlet*, I, iii. 72; Ecc. xix. 30.

¹⁴⁹ Leo Africanus, II, 245, 289; R. Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago, 1992), p. 172.

¹⁵⁰ See Chapter 2, p. 125.

¹⁵¹ A.T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 11.

¹⁵² Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 6.

¹⁵³ *ALHTS*, I, 14, VIII, p. 175.

The two 'More lasses' are given 'tua gownis' of 'grene carsay' in February 1505, dresses of russet in September 1505, and 'ij pair grene carsay hos' in April 1506.¹⁵⁴ Neither material is particularly remarkable. The *Dictionary of Scots Language* provides numerous examples of each being worn, and defines russet as 'A coarse or cheap stuff; a woollen cloth more generally.' Carsay is a variant spelling of kersey, 'A kind of coarse narrow cloth, woven from long wool and usually ribbed.'¹⁵⁵ These were practical garments, not fantastic costumes. Margaret and Elene, the only two African women at the Scottish court to be mentioned by name in the records, who may be the same two 'More lasses', had some clothing bought for them in 1513.¹⁵⁶ Again, the material is not especially showy. 'Blak Elene' has a gown of 'Franche russet', worth £5, and Margaret's was made of 48 shillings' worth of 'fyne russet'.¹⁵⁷

By contrast, the 'black lady' of the Tournament was decked out royally. Taffeta was bought in Flanders, 'be the Kingis command', in white, yellow, purple, green and grey. Damask 'flourit with gold, to be ane gown for the black lady' was also acquired.¹⁵⁸ William Dunbar takes advantage of the poetic contrast between his subject's dark skin and the shiny 'rich apparel' she is clothed in:

Quhen schou is claid in reche apparrall
 Schou blinkis als brycht as ane tar barrel.
 [When she is clad in rich apparel
 She shines as bright as a tar barrel.]

¹⁵⁴ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 35, 39, 49.

¹⁵⁵ *Dictionary of the Scots Language* [<http://www.dsl.ac.uk>, accessed 17 December 2008]

¹⁵⁶ Elene is first mentioned by name in December 1511, and she is then mentioned three further times, in January 1512, and in February and May 1513. Margaret is mentioned by name only twice: the first time on 5 April 1512, the second on 19 July 1513.

¹⁵⁷ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 95, 96.

¹⁵⁸ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 65.

However, the black lady was decked out especially for the occasion of the Tournament. It was not her daily costume. Even Dunbar's verse suggests this: her noteworthy appearance 'when' she wears the rich clothes suggests that this is not an everyday sight. The contrast between dark skin and plain russet or kersey was presumably not as striking as that with yellow or white taffata.

Another example of dressing for the occasion came a few years later, across the border. On 14 January 1512 a warrant was made by Henry VIII to the Great Wardrobe to deliver to John Blak 'our trumpeter' a gown of violet cloth, a bonnet and a hat, 'to be taken of our gift against his marriage'.¹⁵⁹ This was a wedding present, and not the trumpeter's daily attire. As we have seen, in the Westminster Tournament Roll, he wears the same brown and yellow livery as the other musicians, but is distinguished by his brown and yellow turban. That the turban is the same colours as the livery suggests that it was not an attempt to exoticize Blanke, but perhaps was worn out of personal choice. However, we must be careful when making judgements like this based on a work of art. John Blanke may not have been wearing exactly what is shown in the image. In a second depiction of him in the Tournament Roll, his turban is green and gold.¹⁶⁰

Nageir, the African in the household of Lord Regent James Stewart, Earl of Moray, also had some clothes made for him. In February 1568, payments were authorized by the Lord

¹⁵⁹ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 88; Chapter 4, p. 237.

¹⁶⁰ Illustration no.1; K.J.P. Lowe, 'The stereotyping of black Africans in Renaissance Europe', in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, pp. 39-40; Methodology, pp. 44; Chapter 4, p. 257.

Regent to John Murdoch, a tailor, for material to make ‘ane klok to the moir’, which was to be lined with velvet at the neck. In December 1569 ‘Nageir the Moor’ had a costume made for him that cost £22, 5s:

Item the tent day of December be my lord regentis grace precept to Johnne Murdoch, tailyeour, to be ane abulyement [costume] to Nageir the More vi elnis ii quarters of fine violet stamyng [material] to be cote and hois to him.

Payments were also made for a doublet of ‘pirnit cammes’ [embroidered chamois], and a hat, costing 36 s each.¹⁶¹ Moray was assassinated not long afterwards, on 23 January 1570.¹⁶² After his funeral, his black servant travelled to France. Before departure he was provided with a hat, a cloak, coat and breeches of French russet, a doublet and three pairs of shoes.¹⁶³ Here, the plainer clothes bought after his master’s death contrast with the ‘fine violet’, embroidered chamois, and the velvet lined cloak. However these richer clothes seem typical dress for a courtier and not designed to highlight his race or exoticize him.

The records of Elizabeth I’s payments to her tailor relate that she purchased some extremely fancy clothes for her ‘littell blak a More’. In 1574 she ordered:

a gasken Coate for a litell blak a More of white taphata cut lined under with tyncell striped downe with golde and silver lined with buckeram and bayes poynted with poyntinge Rebande and fased with taphata.

Henry Herne also made:

a peire of gaskens [padded hose] for the said little blak a More with canvas cotten

¹⁶¹ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 99-100.

¹⁶² M. Loughlin, ‘Stewart, James, first earl of Moray (1531/2–1570)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26479>, accessed 18 March 2008]

¹⁶³ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 101.

heare pockettes of fustian and lyninges of fustian in the canons.

This elaborate costume was accessorized with a matching bombasted doublet with silver buttons, a pair of knitted stockings, a pair of white shoes, and a pair of white pantobles, a dozen points to truss his hose and a pair of garters. The white and silver colour scheme of this outfit would certainly have highlighted his dark skin.

The queen clearly approved of the effect, as the following year Thomas Ludwell made him:

a Cassock of carnacion stammell trimmed with silver lase and on either side a purle lase of grene silke sowed on with silke with buttons of silke and silver fased with taphata lined with bayes and buckeram.

This came with matching breeches of silver and silk lace-trimmed stammell, with taffeta trimmed with silver lace pulled out between the panes. These were lined with linen, stuffed with hair and canvas to make them stand out and had fustian pockets. He was also provided with a green taffeta doublet, trimmed with lace, a pair of knitted stockings, a taffeta girdle and garters, and a carnation velvet cap. Additionally, the queen ordered a tuft mockado gown faced with thirty seven black coney [rabbit] skins, a gaskin coat of changeable mockado and a matching doublet and another taffeta girdle and 6 pairs of shoes.¹⁶⁴ These clothes were unarguably decorative. But then Elizabeth enjoyed fancy dress. Her court was decked out with acres of such finery, and the black boy was in this way only dressed to match.

In 1628, Sir James Bagg, of Saltram Hall, Devon, wrote a letter to Edward Nicholas inquiring after the arrival of his ‘negrowe’, whom he asked should be ‘handsomely

¹⁶⁴ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 102-4.

clad'.¹⁶⁵ It is not known whether this individual ever arrived, but the reference suggests that black servants were beginning to be thought of as decorative as well as functional. This shift can be seen again in the contrast between the sensible costume of the African attending Anne of Denmark and the leopard skin sported by the black in the Mytens portrait of Charles and Henrietta Maria.¹⁶⁶

Independent Africans

The emphasis on masters above obscures the fact that the majority, 227, or 64% of the 352 individuals identified here are listed without masters. In Plymouth, 17 African individuals (6 of whom were children) are not recorded in conjunction with a master. In Bristol, only 4 of the 16 known Africans are listed with masters. This recurs throughout the period, and throughout the country. Some Africans are actually described as lodgers, 'borders' or tenants rather than servants, such as Lambert Waterson, from Barbary, described as the 'tenaunte of Gabriell Levesy, grocer' in 1568; Suzanna Pearls 'a blackamoore tenant to John Despines'; 'Marey a negro' who said she 'dwelte with Mr. Conradus' in 1606 and 'Isabell Peeters a Black-more lodgeing in Blew Anchor Alley' in 1616.¹⁶⁷ Habib considers the description 'tenant' to be an 'expedient label', but there is no reason for not taking it at face value, especially as the records show no compunction in describing servants as servants.¹⁶⁸

Habib interprets entries where no master is mentioned as evidence that these Africans

¹⁶⁵ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 25.

¹⁶⁶ Illustrations nos. 7 and 8, and p. 175, above.

¹⁶⁷ Appendix, Tax Returns, no. 3; Burials, nos. 25, 28, 71, Court Records, no. 21.

¹⁶⁸ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 80; Chapter 5, p. 270.

were ‘unattached (abandoned, destitute)’.¹⁶⁹ However, the evidence does not support his generalization. The parish registers are not slow to identify poverty, often describing persons as ‘poor’. However ‘Antony, a poore old negro, aged 105’ who was buried at St. John’s Hackney in 1630 and Mary Peters ‘a poore blackamore woman at Tower Hill’, buried at St. Botolph Aldgate in February 1631, are the only Africans to be directly described as poor in parish registers.¹⁷⁰ Payments were made to ‘a poore Barbarian w[hi]ch had binne robbed at sea and taken by Pirates’ by the Churchwardens of St Michael Cornhill in 1602 and to ‘A blackamor and Another poor man’ (which implies that the African was poor as well) of St. Stephen’s, Walbrook in 1603.¹⁷¹ This, and the case of Helen Jeronimo, a widow who petitioned the East India Company in 1624 for ‘their Charity towards her being very poore’ and was given ‘10s out of the poores box’ show that there was support for poor Africans and they were not ‘abandoned’.¹⁷² Two other entries in parish registers suggest that the people described were vagrants. In 1588 ‘a man blackamore lay in the street’ was buried at St. Olave Hart Street, and in 1623 ‘a blackamoore woman that died in the street, named Marie’ was buried at St. Botolph Aldgate.¹⁷³ Two further instances can be found in the Plymouth Borough Account Book. In 1593-4, 6d was paid ‘for buryenge a neger on Catt downe’, and the following year the same amount was laid out for ‘passing away of a molato wch laye about the streate’.¹⁷⁴ Catt downe was an insalubrious area to the east of the city, close to the sea and the Plym estuary. These Africans do indeed seem to have been destitute and without any other

¹⁶⁹ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 116.

¹⁷⁰ Appendix, Burials, nos. 84, 85.

¹⁷¹ Appendix, Church and Municipal Accounts, nos. 5, 6.

¹⁷² Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 22. This was the widow of Thomas Jeronimo, mariner, see above, pp. 181, 190.

¹⁷³ GHL MS, 28867 (St. Olave, Hart Street) and MS 9222/1 (St. Botolph’s Aldgate); Habib Index, no. 171, 320.

¹⁷⁴ Appendix, Church and Municipal Accounts, nos. 1,2; Chapter 4, p. 242.

support.

Poverty often leads to crime, but there is very little evidence of African criminals in this period. Besides the ‘blake-mor’ who was arrested for brawling in 1554 and ‘was brought a-for the hed offesers by the knyght-marshall's servandes’, there are only three other cases of Africans being accused of criminal behaviour in my Appendix.¹⁷⁵ In

Southampton in July 1591, Dennis Edwards had accused:

two negroes, thone named Michaell late Mr Holmes blackmore, and thother named [] Mr Heatons blackmore, they being both before that committed to prison at his suite upon suspicion of cuttinge & stealing a cable from his barcke.

He put no further charge or felony against them, and so they were ‘punished in the stocks and so freed’, despite protesting their innocence.¹⁷⁶ In September 1615, Helen Jeronimo, whose poverty was later alleviated by the East India Company, was accused before the Middlesex Sessions of stealing ‘14 bookes of callikoe, 26 pieces of pachers and 108 lb. of suger’ by the *converso* merchant Francis Pinto.¹⁷⁷ In March 1628, Peter Cavandigoe, ‘an idle and wandring p[er]son’, was punished by the Bridewell Court for ‘breaking a boyes leg with a broome staffe as the boy past along street not giving him any cause of offence’.¹⁷⁸ In addition, there was at least one African in the Bristol Bridewell prison in August 1636, when ‘Maudlinge filia populi out of Brydwell, the mother a blackamoore’ was baptized at the nearby church of St. John the Baptist.¹⁷⁹ We do not know why the mother was in prison, but she may have suffered from poverty. Overall, had Africans been as ‘destitute’ as Habib suggests, we might expect to find more frequent references to them in criminal court records.

¹⁷⁵ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 3.

¹⁷⁶ Appendix, Court Records, no. 11.

¹⁷⁷ Appendix, Court Records, nos. 25-27; Chapter 2, p. 132.

¹⁷⁸ Appendix, Court Records, no. 31.

¹⁷⁹ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 60.

These few desperate cases must be placed alongside the evidence of Africans who were demonstrably independent. As Rosalyn Knutson put it in 1992:

Along with persons who were in some sense enslaved by the conditions of poverty and alienation...there were also blacks whose status appears to have been more independent even than that of servant.¹⁸⁰

Take, for example, 'the blak More freirs' or friars, who were James IV's guests at court in 1508. White 'carsay' material was bought to 'be tua kirtillis to the More freris' in March 1508; in April they were paid 6 French crowns and in August £14 was paid to 'John Knox for the expens of the More freris quhen tha wer heir'.¹⁸¹ The idea of visiting African clergymen is made less unusual when placed in its European context. In the 15th century, Ethiopian embassies had gone to Rome, Venice, Aragon, Naples and Milan and established a permanent home in Rome at St Stephen of the Ethiopians, refurbished for them by Sixtus IV, where in 1537-1552, Tasfa Seyon, or 'Peter the Ethiopian', edited a New Testament in Ge'ez, the Ethiopian liturgical language. Embassies from Kongo and Benin also travelled to Portugal from the 1480s onwards, so perhaps these friars had been captured from a Portuguese ship by Scottish privateers, like some of the other Africans found at the Scottish court.¹⁸² The purchase of clothes for high ranking visitors also has European parallels. In 1493, King João II of Portugal provided a set of court clothes for Pedro de Manicongo, the Congolese ambassador to Lisbon, and his wife. However Pedro was an aristocrat, not a friar. The Ethiopian priests who visited southern Europe tended to

¹⁸⁰ Knutson, 'A Caliban in St. Mildred's Poultry', p. 116.

¹⁸¹ Household Accounts, nos. 76, 77, 82.

¹⁸² D. Northrup, *Africa's Discovery of Europe, 1450-1850*, (Oxford, 2002), pp. 4-5; N.H. Minnich, 'The Catholic Church and the pastoral care of black Africans in Renaissance Italy' in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, pp. 297-8. Fryer, *Staying Power*, p.2; J. Pinkerton, *The History of Scotland from the accession of the house of Stuart to that of Mary* (2 vols., 1797), II, 61, n. 5; See Chapter 2, pp. 150-1.

retain their own traditional dress.¹⁸³ Perhaps the Scottish climate necessitated the purchase of thicker, kersey wool, garments. These men were temporary visitors, as were the Moroccan ambassadors described in Chapter 1, but they demonstrate that Africans could wield high status in Britain.¹⁸⁴

Turning to cases of more permanent residents, we encounter the unique and early record of ‘Peter Blackmore, a moren borne’ living in the Parish of St. Petrock, Exeter, assessed in the Military Survey of 1522, as one of the ‘Billmen able for the war’... ‘worth in goods nil’.¹⁸⁵ Although he was not a man of property, he seems free to go to war, which was an expensive business, and he is not mentioned in conjunction with any master.

More strikingly, a financially independent African craftsman emerges from the pages of John Stow’s *Annales of England* (first published 1592):

The making of Spanish needles was first taught in Englande, by Elias Crowse a Germaine, about the Eight yeere of Queen Elizabeth, and in Queen Maries time, there was a Negro made fine Spanish needles in Cheapside, but would never teach his Art to any.¹⁸⁶

This independent craftsman, who could no doubt command a premium for his unique skill, is a far cry from those Africans who died in the street. Clearly a shrewd businessman, he chose to retain a monopoly on his skill. Imtiaz Habib suggests that this behaviour would have provoked ‘resentment and animosity’, but this is completely

¹⁸³ K. Lowe, ““Representing” Africa: Ambassadors and Princes from Christian Africa to Renaissance Italy and Portugal, 1402-1608, *TRHS* (2007), p. 113.

¹⁸⁴ Chapter 1, pp. 94-7.

¹⁸⁵ Appendix, Tax Returns, no. 1.

¹⁸⁶ J. Stow, *Annales or, a Generall Chronicle of England*, ed. E. Howe (1631), p. 1038; B. L. Beer, ‘Stow, John (1524/5–1605)’, *ODNB* [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/26611>, accessed 23 September 2011]

unsubstantiated.¹⁸⁷ He might equally have earned respect for his unique skill, which was still remembered some twenty years later. Cheapside was of course the location of Goldsmith's Row, a centre for gold and silver work. In 1500, an Italian traveller wrote:

the most remarkable thing in London, is the wonderful quantity of wrought silver...In one single street, named [Cheapside], leading to St. Paul's, there are fifty-two goldsmith's shops, so rich and full of silver vessels, great and small, that in all the shops in Milan, Rome, Venice, and Florence put together, I do not think there would be found so many of the magnificence that are to be seen in London.

He goes on to say that 'artificers... have congregated there from all parts of the island, and from Flanders, and from every other place.'¹⁸⁸ However, no 'Negro' occupier appears in the clerk's lists of the occupants of the Row for 1558, though according to Henry Machyn, number 29 had the sign of 'The Black Boy'.¹⁸⁹ This sign was still in place in 1577, when 'the black boy in chepeside' was referred to in a Bridewell court case.¹⁹⁰ Could it be that this establishment had been named after the black craftsman?

There is one example of a man who appears to be a Moroccan trader living in the capital. In 1568, Lambert Waterson is described as 'denizen, barbaryen, tenaunte of Gabriell Levesy, grocer, goeth to his parish church, St. Giles in the Fylde'.¹⁹¹ A 'barbaryen', means he came from Barbary. In 1541, a 'Lambert Waterson' is listed as an alien living in St. Botolph's, Aldersgate ward, so he may have moved west and become a denizen in the intervening years.¹⁹² The status of denizen was granted to aliens by royal letters

¹⁸⁷ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 45.

¹⁸⁸ *A Relation, or Rather a True Account, of the Island of England*, ed. C. A. Sneyd (Camden Soc., XXXVII, 1847), pp. 42-43.

¹⁸⁹ T.F. Reddaway, 'Elizabethan London- Goldsmith's Row in Cheapside 1558-1645', *Guildhall Miscellany*, 2, no. 5 (1963), p. 199.

¹⁹⁰ Bridewell Court Book, III, f. 221v.

¹⁹¹ Appendix, Tax Returns, no. 3.

¹⁹² *Two Tudor Subsidy Rolls for the City of London: 1541 and 1582* ed. R.G. Lang (London Record Soc., XXIX, 1993), p. 4.

patent, and entitled the patentee to some but not all of the privileges of a native born subject.¹⁹³ Waterson is the only individual from the African continent known to have achieved this status in early modern Britain.

Another independent craftsman working in London was Reasonabel Blackman, a silkweaver, described in the records as a 'blackmor'. He was living in the parish of St. Olave's, Tooley Street, in Southwark c. 1587-1592. He had three children, one of whom was Edward, baptised in February 1587.¹⁹⁴ Could the 'Edward Blackmore of Myleind silkweauer', who married 'Jeane Colle of Stepny' on 6 March 1614, be Reasonabel's son, carrying on his trade?¹⁹⁵ A child born in 1587 would be 27 in 1614, and Mile End is a mere 3 miles east of Southwark. This possibility of his son carrying on his trade paints a rather different picture to that posited by Habib, who interprets the death of Reasonabel's two other children (Jane and Edmund, both buried in 1592) as 'a savage exposure of the fragility of a black man's prosperity struggling for survival in the wildest of the city's suburban liberties'.¹⁹⁶ Conversely, the fact that Reasonabel was able to support a family of at least three, however short-lived, reflects a certain measure of wealth. Rather, in crude household economics, the loss of two children would in fact be a cut in expenditure and thus improve rather than reduce his prosperity.

There is another instance of an independent African family. At St. Mary's Truro, in August 1611, 'Maria filia Emmanuelli Mauris Anglice (the Moore)' was buried. In

¹⁹³ L. Luu, 'Natural-born vs. Stranger-born subjects: Aliens and their status in Elizabethan London' in *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, ed. N. Goose and L. Luu (2005), p. 59.

¹⁹⁴ Appendix, Baptisms, no.8, Burials, nos. 21, 22.

¹⁹⁵ *The Marriage Registers of St. Dunstan's, Stepney, in the County of Middlesex*, ed. T. Colyer-Fergusson (3 vols. 1898), I, 90.

¹⁹⁶ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 98; Chapter 4, p. 239.

October 1612, ‘Richus filius Emmanuelis Maurus anglice the Moore’ was baptised, and on 9 August 1623 their father ‘Emanuelius Mauri als Emanuel the Moore’ was buried.¹⁹⁷

The description ‘Maurus Anglice’, which translates as ‘the English Moor’, might suggest that Emmanuel was born in England. It is not a commonly used descriptor.¹⁹⁸ Again, that he was able to support a family of two suggests a certain level of economic prosperity.

Another indicator of African men having some financial independence can be found when they appear as customers in London’s bawdy houses in the 1570s. In her evidence to the Bridewell court in January 1578, Elizabeth Kirkham testified that:

Rose Brown is a bawd and a whore to the said Elizabeth Kirkham and others Elizabeth sayeth that the same Rose had dyvers and many blackamores and other persons resort to her house whilst this Elizabeth dwelt there.¹⁹⁹

Elizabeth and Rose were both prostitutes, and worked for Gilbert East, who ran a brothel in Turnbull Street, and ‘Black Luce’, or Lucy Baynham, who ran another brothel in Clerkenwell.²⁰⁰ What is interesting about Elizabeth Kirkham’s testimony is that in it ‘many blackamores’ appear as Rose Brown’s customers.²⁰¹ This can be bolstered by three other cases in the Bridewell court. In December 1576, Anne Levens, a prostitute, testified ‘that a tall blacke man with a blacke beard and a straunger had the use of her body at Mrs Esgrigges at White Fryers’.²⁰² In May 1577, ‘Peter Peringoe, a blackamore’ confessed that:

Indeed he had thuse of the body of one Margery Williams here p[re]sent to his

¹⁹⁷ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 39, Burials no. 61, 79.

¹⁹⁸ The only other African described in this way was ‘Christiana Niger anglice a blacka moore’ baptised in Sibton, Suffolk in 1634. Appendix, Baptisms, no. 61.

¹⁹⁹ Appendix, Court Records, no. 9.

²⁰⁰ See above, pp. 184-5.

²⁰¹ Habib has recently commented on this (*Black Lives*, p. 109), but dilutes his argument by insisting that Rose Brown may also have been an African, due to her surname.

²⁰² Appendix, Court Records, no. 6.

face in one Sawyers house in Clerke Alley in Bishopsgate on Mondaye last she denyeth it. She is punished for that as well by the testimony of Richard Dobson it is proved they were taken a bedd together as his confession appereth that it is true And they saye she came to his bedd.

In December of the same year:

Jane Thompson a harlott sent in by mr deputye Seymr for that she consented to comitt whoredome wth one Anthonye a blackamore and taken a bedd together the dore locked to them she is whipped and delivered.²⁰³

Peter Peringoe, Anthonye and the bearded stranger all seem to have had the pecuniary wherewithal to finance their sex lives. Whoring might be considered a luxury rather than a necessity, and so their pursuit of it suggests they had money to spare.

Independent women were rarer, but we do have some examples. In 1600 'Joane Marya a Black Moore' of the parish of St Philip and St Jacob, Bristol was described as 'nowe the wyffe of Thomas Smythe Byllysmaker'.²⁰⁴ While marriage may not constitute total economic independence, it was certainly a far more secure financial position to be in than that of the woman who gave birth in the Bristol Bridewell.²⁰⁵ Helenor Myou was in a position to be a victim of crime. She lost a set of 'bandes, a pillober and other goods' in 1612.²⁰⁶ The possession of such goods testifies to a certain level of economic wellbeing.

One African single woman died leaving property: a sure sign of financial independence. In May 1625, a black woman named Cattelena died in Almondsbury, a small village to the north of Bristol. In the inventory of her goods made for the Probate court, she was described as 'Cattelena a negra dessessed of Almonsbury in the county of gloucer singell

²⁰³ Appendix, Court Records, nos. 7,8.

²⁰⁴ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 19. She died of the plague in December 1603: Appendix, Burials, no. 5; Chapter 4, pp. 219, 237, 255.

²⁰⁵ Above, p. 203.

²⁰⁶ Appendix, Court Records, no. 24.

woman'. Her goods were appraised by Thomas Cottwell, Maurice Perry and Thomas Haines to be worth a total of £6 9s 6d. They included a cow (worth £3 10s), bed and bedding (10s), 2 pewter pots, candlesticks, a tin bottle, a dozen spoons, 3 earthen dishes and 24 trenchers, a tablecloth, all her wearing apparel (£2), a coffer and two little boxes. Helen Ford, a widow, was named as her executrix.²⁰⁷ Executors were normally close family members, such as wives, sons or brothers of the deceased, and were responsible for the deceased's goods and estate and for distributing them according to the will. An Inventory such as this one was usually drawn up to help with this process. Inventories are usually preserved alongside wills in the archives. If Cattelena made a will it has not survived. Cattelena's relationship with Helen Ford is unknown.

Reading the records closely, we can begin to see how a woman like Cattelena might become independent. When Maria Groce, widow of Lawrence Groce, a Southampton merchant, made her will in 1612, she wrote: 'I give unto my servant Joane the blackemore a flockbed, two blancketts a coverlet two paire of sheets and three pounds in money'.²⁰⁸ These goods bear a striking similarity to those owned by Cattelena of Almondsbury at her death. One could posit a hypothetical history that a woman like Cattelena had been left some money and goods by a former master or mistress and thus had the wherewithal to set out alone, and additionally that Joane might have become independent, like Cattelena. There are certainly no records of Africans in service in the tax returns from Southampton after 1611, but the parish registers do not survive, so Joane's actual fate remains uncertain.

²⁰⁷ Appendix, Wills and Inventories, no. 5.

²⁰⁸ Appendix, Wills and Inventories, no. 3.

Similarly, the parish registers of St. Mary the Virgin, Almondsbury only survive from 1653, so we are unable to learn more about Cattelena and the other individuals surrounding her, such as Helen Ford. However, there is an interesting local link with Southampton. The manor of Almondsbury was purchased by Thomas Chester (d.1583), MP and merchant of Bristol, in 1569. He or his heir, William Chester (d.1607), built Knole Park there. Thomas's daughter Anne Chester married John Caplin of Southampton, but died without issue in 1623. John Caplin paid the poll tax for an African in his household in 1598 and 1599.²⁰⁹ Therefore, it is possible that Cattelena had served in the Chester household at Knole Park, coming there either from Bristol, where Thomas Chester was a merchant, or from Southampton, via the Caplin connection.

In three other cases masters also left their African servants legacies that may have helped them become independent. In her will of 1536 Catherine of Aragon left each of her ladies of the bedchamber £10.²¹⁰ This would have included Catalina de Cordones.²¹¹ In 1570, Nicholas Witchals of Barnstaple specified in his will:

Item I give unto Anthonye my negarre v s so that he remaine with my wife otherwise yf she mynde to not kepe him to give hym v markes and lette hym depte (depart).²¹²

The fact that his baptism was recorded at St. Peter's Barnstaple in 1565, but there is not record of his burial there suggests that he did in fact depart.²¹³ 5 marks was a sizeable sum: £3 13s 4d, and of a similar order to the amount left to Joane by widow Groce. In

²⁰⁹ R.E. Chester Waters, *Genealogical Memoirs of the Families of Chester of Bristol, Barton Regis, London and Almondsbury* (1881) pp. 31-35; Appendix, Tax Returns, nos. 11, 16.

²¹⁰ *L&P, Henry VIII*, Jan.- June 1536, p. 40; BL, Cotton MS Otho C. X., f. 216.

²¹¹ See above, p. 164.

²¹² Appendix, Wills and Inventories, no. 1.

²¹³ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 2.

December 1600 London merchant William Offley's will stated 'to ffrancis my black a moore I geve for her releife the some of tenne poundes and a gowne of twelve shillings the yarde'.²¹⁴ In this case, Frances seems to have stayed in service, as in March 1625, 'a Christian negro servant unto...Ladie Bromley', later described as 'a negro maid servant' left a legacy of £10, matching the amount given by her mistress, to the poor of St. Mary's parish, Putney, 'to be imployed as a stocke for the releefe and comfort of the said poore in bread, or otherwise at the discretion of...the vestrie men'.²¹⁵ Lady Anne Bromley was formerly the wife of William Offley and by 1625 was also the widow of Sir Henry Holt.²¹⁶ She seems to have inherited Frances's service from her first husband. Yet in Offley's will Frances is given financial freedom, her £10 a huge sum of money, especially in comparison with the 50 s awarded to Offley's other maids. The phrase 'for her releife', meaning for her to support herself, suggests that her continuation in the household is not a given, and that she, like Anthony of Barnstaple in 1570, had the choice to stay or go.

Africans did not always wait until their master's death to leave the household. In 1587 Hector Nunes complained that his 'Ethiopian Negar' 'refused to tarry and serve' him.²¹⁷ Perhaps he ran away to seek his fortune elsewhere, like Mary who absconded from the Weymouth household of the French privateer Captain Peter Sallenuve in 1633 and got as far as Dorchester before the authorities caught up with her.²¹⁸ There are two other individuals described as former servants, which suggests that it was possible for Africans

²¹⁴ Appendix, Wills and Inventories, no. 2.

²¹⁵ Appendix, Church and Municipal Accounts, nos. 11,12.

²¹⁶ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 149.

²¹⁷ Chapter 5, pp. 273-5.

²¹⁸ Appendix, Court Records, no. 34.

to leave service. ‘Michael late Mr. Holmes blackmore’ appears in a Southampton court record in 1591. The lack of punctuation would make it difficult to decipher whether the adjective ‘late’ should be attached to Michael or to Mr. Holmes. But we know that Thomas Holmes, mayor in 1591, lived until 1594, so can conclude that Michael was lately Mr. Holmes’ servant, but by 29 July 1591, he was no longer.²¹⁹ In February 1631, ‘James Diego a Negro late servant to Mr Bromfield’ was named as the father of a child baptized at St. Dunstan and All Saints, Stepney.²²⁰ He was no longer a member of the household when his child was born, and seems not to have died as there is no record of his burial in that parish. Having left these households, these men might become like Jacques Frances, who was described, along with Corsi’s other servants, in 1547 as ‘poore laboryng men ... sekyng ther levyng abowte in sondry places where they maye get hit having but letle of ther owne’.²²¹ One such man found employment with Lupold von Wedel, a German traveller, who took him to Hamburg with him when he left England from Gravesend in April 1585. Von Wedel relates:

I was willing to cross over from England to France, in order there to enter military service, but in Holy Easter time I received letters that the money which I had ordered to be sent here had not come. Having consequently nothing to live upon, I was obliged to take my way homewards... On the 24th [April] I went on board, for the skipper intended to set sail. All ships are visited here before they are allowed to start, and as I was accompanied by a negro Moor whom I intended to take with me, the officer would not allow the skipper to take the negro on board, for he had no passport. I was obliged to go on land, thinking that I should have to return to London for the passport. My host, however, went with me to the burghmaster and the constable, who gave me permission to take him with me.

This delayed him until the 28th, ‘when again [he] bargained with a Hamburg ship, that

²¹⁹ Appendix, Court Records, no. 11.

²²⁰ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 52.

²²¹ Appendix, Court Records, 1,2.

was to take [him] and the Moor there for two angelots.²²² There is no further reference to this ‘negro Moor’ in the account. Either von Wedel had met the Moor in London, but had not realised he required a passport, or he had met him since leaving London, and so had not been able to obtain a passport for him.

Conclusion

Africans were to be found in a far wider variety of roles and occupations in early modern Britain than has been traditionally assumed. They were not confined to being the playthings of the rich: indeed even in royal households they often performed functions more practical than decorative. Some were high class courtiers, others skilled musicians or chefs; they could be found in every area of the household, from the stables to the laundry. They were also employed in merchant and other households. Some worked in taverns. Others may have acquired skills in the clothing industry. Skilled divers such as Jacques Frances found employment as specialist salvage workers, others became seasoned sailors. There is however, little evidence of African women working as prostitutes, despite the hackneyed literary stereotype.

Africans were remunerated for their services in the same mixture of wages, rewards and payments in kind as the rest of the servant population. There is evidence of at least six individuals being paid wages from 1501 through to 1646. African employees also received cash rewards and had food, clothing and accommodation provided for them. This suggests a fairly comfortable existence, a far cry from the life imagined for ‘slaves’. In fact the employment conditions, and payment of wages and rewards in particular,

²²² Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 5. An angelot or ‘angel’ was worth about 10s at this time.

suggest that these people were not enslaved at all.²²³ The vast majority of the individuals discussed here are not recorded as having a master. Far from destitute, some of these clearly became independent and even supported families. There is evidence of Africans pursuing trades such as needle-making or silkweaving, and of owning property, sometimes having been left a legacy from a former master.

The experience of Africans in Britain in this period was far more varied and peppered with opportunity than traditional stereotypes allow. In fact, it was the experience that one might expect of any minority immigrant group that was injected into the lowest rungs of English society. Life could be ‘nasty, brutish and short’; but those that persevered or became skilled, had some chance of a more pleasant, more ‘civil’, and lengthier existence.

²²³ I discuss this further in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4: Africans in English society: the religious and social experience

We have seen that Africans came to Britain in small numbers and were employed in a variety of roles. There is frustratingly little evidence of their daily lives, but some conclusions can be drawn about how they fitted into English (it is mostly English, as the Scottish material is even more sparse) society from looking at how they were treated by the Church of England. For the church was a public place, a focus of local society, and the way Africans were treated in church reflected how they were treated in the wider world. If they were allowed to be baptized, married and buried with due ceremony, it follows that they were recognized as human beings with souls to be saved. As Winthrop Jordan put it: 'Being a Christian...was a quality inherent in oneself and one's society. It was interconnected with all the other attributes of normal and proper men.' Furthermore, Protestant Christianity was vital to the national identity in the wake of the Reformation. In his section on 'defective religion' Jordan characterized Africans as 'heathens' and asserted that Englishmen made no serious attempts to convert them.¹ A similar refrain can be found in the draft proclamation of 1601 (probably penned by Caspar Van Senden and Sir Thomas Sherley), which asserted that 'most of them ['negars and Blackamoors', in England] are infidels, having no understanding of Christ or his Gospel.'²

However, although 'blackness' was associated with sin and the devil, contemporaries did recognize that Africans had been and could be Christians.³ The most famous African

¹ W.D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (1968), pp. 20-24. Introduction, p. 12.

² Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 18.

³ Jordan, *White Over Black*, p. 24; A.G. Barthelemy, *Black Face, Maligned Race: the Representations of Blacks in English Drama from Shakespeare to Southerne* (1987), pp. 2-4; K.F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (1995), pp. 4, 9, 103, 189; G.K. Hunter, 'Othello and Colour Prejudice', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 53 (1967), p. 141; A. Korhonen, 'Washing the

Christian was the quasi-mythical emperor of Ethiopia, Prester John.⁴ He was well known to early modern readers of travel literature, such as Leo Africanus's *Description of Africa* (1600), which stated that Prester John was descended from the Queen of Sheba. Both Shakespeare in *Much Ado about Nothing* and preacher Meredith Hanmer in a sermon he gave in 1586 expected their audiences to recognize the name. He even appears in Edward Pudsey's commonplace book.⁵ Travel literature also related that there were Christians not only in the kingdom of Prester John, but also in Egypt, Nubia, Congo, Angola and the isle of Socotera.⁶ Indeed, that most famous literary African character, Shakespeare's Othello, was a baptised Christian: Iago comments that 'the Moor' doted on Desdemona to the extent that he would 'renounce his baptism, All seals and symbols of redeemed sin' to please her.⁷

Great efforts were made to ensure that Africans who came to Britain were instructed in the Christian religion and incorporated into parish life. I have found evidence of 66 baptisms of Africans in the period 1500-1640, 94 burials and 10 marriages in addition to other descriptive evidence suggesting Christianity. Thus, just as the major life events of

Ethiopian white: conceptualizing black skin in Renaissance England' in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, p.106; C. Prayger, 'If I be the Devil: English Renaissance response to the proverbial and ecumenical Ethiopian', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 17, no. 2 (1987), pp. 257-279.

⁴F. Alvarez, *The Prester John of the Indies: a True Relation of the Lands of the Prester John / Being the Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520*, ed. G.F. Beckingham and G.W.B. Huntingford, (Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser., CXIV, CXV, Cambridge 1961); R. Silverberg, *The Realm of Prester John* (1972); F. Relaño, *The Shaping of Africa: Cosmographic Discourse and Cartographic Science in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (2001), especially pp. 51-2. A brief summary can be found in M. Kaufmann, 'Prester John' in *Encyclopaedia of Blacks in European Culture*, ed. E. Martone (2 vols., Westport, CT, 2009), II, 423-4.

⁵ Leo Africanus, III, 978; *Much Ado About Nothing*, II.i. 262-271; Hamner, *The Baptizing of a Turke*, sig A8r; Oxford Bodleian, MS Eng.poet.d3, f. 62b (Edward Pudsey's commonplace book); D. Kathman, 'Pudsey, Edward (bap. 1573, d. 1612/13)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/71298>, accessed 15 July 2011]

⁶ Leo Africanus, I, 86-88, III, 857, 900-2, 1022-8, 1052, 1059; P. Pigafetta, *A Report of the Kingdome of Congo Drawen out of the Writinges and Discourses of O. Lopez*, tr. A. Hartwell (London, 1597).

⁷ *Othello*, II. iii. 331-2.

the native population were marked in church, so too were those in the lives of many Africans. The evidence of the black experience of sex, marriage and children in early modern England that is revealed by a closer look at the parish registers and ecclesiastical court records is important in its own right. As yet, the lived experience of these individuals has received little attention from scholars. The only author to have touched on these histories thus far is Imtiaz Habib. However the evidence is dispersed throughout his chronological commentary and so not considered in its totality. Furthermore his evidence is inflated by the inclusion of citations of what he calls ‘fluctuating ethnic clarity’. For example, he lists evidence of 28 marriages, while below I discuss ten.⁸

Most importantly, the significance of these records must be assessed in the context of an understanding of the wider patterns of social behaviour in early modern English society. Habib admits that his project is ‘not interested in early modern social history *per se*... except in those points and aspects where that history includes or connects to... black people’.⁹ However, ignoring the English context can lead to false conclusions. The language used in church ceremonies must be analysed alongside the *Book of Common Prayer*, and with some understanding of early modern Protestantism.¹⁰ Without the knowledge that some 4% of all children were born illegitimate in the late 16th and early 17th century, the evidence of illegitimate children being born to black parents might be misconstrued.¹¹ Thus Habib makes a value-laden and judgemental comment on the 1595 Westminster burial record of ‘William Harris, blackamoor baseborn’. For him, the:

⁸ Habib, *Black Lives*, pp. 129, 266; Introduction, p. 17, Methodology, pp. 23-4, 71; below, pp. 236-9. I exclude the literary evidence of George Best from this total.

⁹ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 17.

¹⁰ *The Book of Common Prayer: the Texts of 1549, 1559 and 1662*, ed. B. Cummings (Oxford, 2011).

¹¹ R.Adair, *Courtship, Illegitimacy and Marriage in Early Modern England* (1996), p. 50.

baseborn designation marks this as another chilling case of the casual sexual exploitation of black women who in this instance cannot even merit naming, even if her offspring is presumably given her English predator's name as a gesture of his retrospective generosity.¹²

Equally, a case in which an individual is punished for fornication with a 'blackamore' must be viewed in the context of a high level of presentments for the moral crime of fornication in the period.¹³

The material naturally gives rise to questions of the extent to which Africans were assimilated into English society. Barthelemy concludes that 'blacks are different and that the black on their faces, when not thought to signify the Moors' kinship to the devil, reveals at the very least their separation from the community'.¹⁴ By contrast, Habib views assimilation as a negative process, especially where marriage or baptism leads to the acquisition of an English name, and thus the 'effacement' of the individual's African identity.¹⁵ I would posit that assimilation was rather a more positive form of acceptance. Even when Habib recognises a positive experience he tends to treat it as an anomaly. He describes Anne Vause as 'the first and only openly identified black woman in the early modern English black archives...to appear in the socially sanctioned role of someone's wife'. This is contradicted by the case of Joane, the wife of Thomas Smyth, buried in 1603, which he cites, and characterises as 'a unique recognition for a black woman', as well as by other cases examined here.¹⁶

¹² Appendix, Burials, no.36; Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 100.

¹³ M. Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (1987), p. 238.

¹⁴ Barthelemy, *Black Face, Maligned Race*, p. 202.

¹⁵ Habib, *Black Lives*, pp. 19-20, 26.

¹⁶ Habib, *Black Lives*, pp. 136, 212.

In fact, the evidence suggests a variety of experience: African men and women were accepted into English parish life, they married English men and women, but they also married other Africans. Africans also engaged in extra-marital relationships, in one recorded instance with each other, but in many cases with the English. These encounters resulted in legitimate and illegitimate offspring. None of this was beyond the parameters of the normative early modern English experience.

Baptism

In considering the baptism records of Africans in England, we must first differentiate between infant and adult baptisms. About half of the recorded baptisms appear to be of infants, born in England to at least one African parent. The other half appear to have been baptized as teenagers or adults. This was remarked upon in the register of Chislehurst parish, Bromley, Kent in 1595: ‘Cristofer Adam a blackamore Christ[ened] on the 22 daie of April, *a man growne*’.¹⁷ Some entries record exact ages. Gylman Ivie was thirty at his baptism in Dyrham, Gloucestershire in 1575. Mary Phillis was 20 at her baptism at St. Botolph’s Aldgate in 1597. Julyane, one of Paul Bayning’s maids, was baptized at St. Mary Bothaw in London at the ‘age of 22 yeares’ on 29 March 1602. ‘Richard a Blackamore, 12 years old’ was baptized at St. George the Martyr, Southwark in 1609 and Sarah Maria ‘Ethiopissa’ was 14 when she was baptized in Westminster in 1634.¹⁸

In other cases, we can deduce that individuals were adults at baptism because they are recorded as getting married or giving birth shortly afterwards. Thus, ‘Grace (a blackmore)’ was baptized in Hatherleigh in May 1604, and had a child two years later in

¹⁷ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 13.

¹⁸ Appendix, Baptisms, nos. 3, 17, 21, 33, 58.

August 1606. Further, where an African is recorded as in service, or without mention of parents, it once again seems likely that they were older at the time of baptism, like ‘Chatherine a Nygor with Mr. Lanyon’, baptized in Barnstable in February 1606.¹⁹ These adult baptisms are extremely interesting because they demonstrate both a conscious engagement with the religion on the part of the African and the willingness of the community to accept these individuals into their congregations. Luckily, some few more detailed accounts of these events survive. They might better be termed ‘conversions’ than just ‘baptisms’.

The Ideology of Conversion

Europeans were keen to convert Africans to Christianity. John Pory was impressed with Portuguese missionary work, writing in 1600 that with ‘exceeding glorie’, they have ‘no lesse advanced the honor of their owne nation, then the propagating of the Christian faith.’²⁰ Abraham Hartwell, writing in 1597, regretted that the Congo has been converted by a ‘massing priest’, rather than a Protestant, but believed this conversion to be better than nothing. He wished the Christians would unite to convert the Jews, Turks and other Pagans: ‘What a singular commendation it would be to unto us, if it might be left in Record that we were the first converters of such a Nition [nation]’. He hopes that the English will not be motivated in their dealings with Africa by ‘commodity of gold or silver...but that they would first seeke the Kingdome of God & the salvation of many thousand soules’.²¹

¹⁹ Appendix, Baptisms, nos. 24, 31, 28.

²⁰ Leo Africanus, III, 1021.

²¹ Pigafetta, *A Report of the Kingdome of Congo*, tr. Hartwell, Preface, unpaginated. His earnest wish suggests that most had not adhered to his advice.

This message was heard in England too, and became particularly relevant when Africans entered the domestic scene. In 1586, Meredith Hanmer, vicar of St. Leonard's Shoreditch, preached a sermon at the Hospital of St. Katherine, in which he explained:

Affrike (excepting the dominions of Presbiter John the greate king of Æthiopia, who professeth the faith in Christ, though not so purely as it is to be wished) hath many Infidels, the rest are Moores, Saracens, Nigroes, Barbarians, addicted to Mahomet and obedient to the great Turke. In these countries there are few Christians seene.²²

Hanmer was keen to promote the conversion of these 'Infidels' and Muslims (those 'addicted to Mahomet'):

If wee were so desirous to have our lights (I mean our fruits) so shine upon the earth in these North parts of the world, where Christianitie is professed as we are gredily bent to gette the earthly commodities of *Affrike*, *Asia*, and the hid treasures of the far *Indies*, we should no doubt prouoke them out of the said countries to seek after our God, and to bee rauished with the conuersation and steppes of the Christians, as they allure us wyth fame of their commodities, to seeke after their forrain riches.²³

What is particularly interesting about Hanmer's sermon is that he is preaching on the subject of the recent baptism of a Turk, one Chinano, about forty years old and born at 'Nigropontus, of old called Chalcides, a Citie of great fame in the Isle Euboea', in the Aegean sea.²⁴ While not an African, his experience might serve as a model, at least from Hanmer's perspective. He reports that Chinano, now named William, was moved by the:

lives of certain good Christians, whose love and kindnes did so ravish him as he said of himself that he confessed the God of the Christians to be the onely true God. And among others he named Sir F. Drake that worshipful knight & W. Hawkins that worthy captain.²⁵

²² M. Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turke, a Sermon* (1586), sig. A3r-3v. Ford, 'Hanmer, Meredith (1543–1604)', *ODNB* [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/12204>, accessed 18 Dec 2008]

²³ Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turke*, sig. A4v.

²⁴ Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turke*, sig. E3r; The island was conquered by the Turks in 1470: F. Babinger, W.C. Hickman and R. Mannheim, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time*, (Princeton, 1992), p. 281.

²⁵ Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turke*, sig. A4r. The sentiment is repeated at sig. E3v.

Later we learn that Chinano was ‘taken captive by the Spaniard, where he continued in great misery the space of 25 yeares, whome the most worthy knight S. Frauncis Drake found at Carthginia [Cartagena].’ The Turk was reported to have said that ‘if there was not a God in England, there was none no where’.²⁶ After his arrival in England he saw:

curtesie, gentleness, friendly salutations of the people, succor for him and his cuntrimen, pitie and compassion of the Englishmen, and withal he learned that the poore, the aged, the impotent, ye sicke and diseased Christians were provided for, whereas in his cuntry and wher he had bene in captivitie ye poore, sicke and diseased were scorned, despised and accounted of as dogs.²⁷

He had not converted to Catholicism while in Spanish custody (despite the attentions of a friar), for ‘he misliked...his cruelty in shedding of bloud, and his Idolatry in worshipping of Images’. At this point the publisher draws his reader’s attention to *The Spanish Colonie* by Bartholomé de las Casas, the key text of the Black Legend, which had been translated into English three years earlier.²⁸ While the whole sermon may seem an extended propaganda piece, and we may not be able to fully credit its description of Chinano’s experience of England, nonetheless, it presents an ideal where the foreigner is treated well in England in comparison to the cruelty of Spain. It seems that Englishmen were keen to make converts, not only abroad, but specifically through the experience of coming to England. Hanmer sees Chinano as the first of many: ‘and wheras now one silly [insignificant] Turk is won, ten thousands no doubt woulde receiue the faith’.²⁹ It is clear that when he speaks of ‘Turks’, he means all those ‘obedient to the great Turke’, which included many North Africans.³⁰

²⁶ Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turke*, sig. E3r-3v. Chinano was one of the Turks that came to England with Drake, see Chapter 2, pp. 147-9.

²⁷ Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turke*, sig. E4r.

²⁸ Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turke*, sig. E4v; Chapter 1, pp. 75-6, n. 12.

²⁹ Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turke*, sig. A4v-5r.

³⁰ Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turke*, sig. A3r-3v.

Edward Terrill (1634-1685) makes similar rhetorical use of his account of Frances, a black woman who joined his Baptist congregation in Bristol in the 1640s:

And while they thus walked with Mr. Ingello their teacher by ye goodness of God they had one memorable member added unto them, namely a Blackymore maide, named Francis a servant to one that lived upon ye Back of Bristoll, which thing is somewhat rare in our dayes and Nation, to have an Ethiopian or Blackmore...to be truly converted to ye Lord Jesus Christ as she was.

To Terrill, this conversion was an eloquent confirmation of his faith, and the universality of God's word. He concludes his account:

By this, in our days, we may see, Experimentally, that scripture made good- that is, God is no respecter of faces; but among all nations, &c. Acts X 34, 35.³¹

The biblical passage alluded to here reads:

Then Peter opened his mouth and said Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: But in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.³²

Besides this inclusive teaching, the Bible furnished the early modern mind with a few positive examples of Africans. In the book of Jeremiah, Ebed'melech the Ethiopian, one of the eunuchs in the household of King Zedekiah, saves Jeremiah from the dungeon. Then, when the city falls to the Babylonians, God saves the Ethiopian, perhaps partly in return for his good deed in freeing Jeremiah.³³ This story was referred by George

Langford, chaplain to the Earl of Exeter in a sermon of 1620 entitled *Manassels*

³¹ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 28; P. Linebaugh, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (2000), pp. 71-104. Nathaniel Ingello (1621-1683) came to Bristol from Cambridge in 1646, when he was appointed to All Saints, Bristol. He was the pastor of the independent congregation for the next few years, appointed fellow of Eton in 1650, and sent on an embassy to Sweden 1653-4. I. W. McLellan, 'Ingello, Nathaniel (1620/21-1683)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14385>, accessed 21 May 2008]

³² Acts. x. 34-5.

³³ Jer. xxxviii. 7-13, Jer. xxxix.16-18.

Miraculous Metamorphosis, in which he quoted Virgil's *Eclogues* (2): 'Alba ligustra cadunt, vacinia negra leguntur' [meaning: we let white flowers fall, but gather black berries], and then continued: 'Uzziah the leper, though white as snow, shall be excluded the hoste, when Ebed-melech the Black Moore shall not remove one foote'.³⁴ Thus to the early modern mind, the Ethiopian Ebed-melech could be held up as a model Christian, in contrast to proud king Uzziah, who had been smitten with leprosy for transgressing God's laws.³⁵

Another positive story of an Ethiopian convert deals with the baptism of 'a man of Ethiopia, a eunuch of great authority under Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, who had the charge of all her treasure'. He is converted and baptised by Philip on the road to Jerusalem. This story inspired Richard Crashaw's 'divine Epigram', *On the Baptized Ethiopian* (1646):

LET it no longer be a forlorn hope
 To wash an Ethiop:
 He's wash'd, his gloomy skin a peaceful shade
 For his white soul is made:
 And now, I doubt not, the Eternal Dove
 A black-faced house will love.³⁶

Thus the Bible provides some real examples of Africans that are more positive than the semantic struggles over the implicit meaning of 'black but comely' and 'the blackamoor cannot change his skin' might suggest.³⁷

³⁴G. Langford, *Manassels Miraculous Metamorphosis, a sermon* (1621), p. 6.

³⁵2 Chron. xxvi.18-23.

³⁶Acts.viii.26-40; *The Complete Works of Richard Crashaw*, ed. W. Turnbull (1858), p. 16.

³⁷Song of Sol. i.5; Jer. xiii.23; P. Mark, *Africans in European Eyes: the portrayal of Black Africans in fourteenth and fifteenth century Europe* (Syracuse, N.Y, 1974), p. 9; Hall, *Things of Darkness*, pp. 66-68, 110-111; S. Iyengar, *Shades of Difference: Mythologies of Skin Color in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, 2005), pp. 44-53; Methodology, pp. 69-70.

The influence of biblical teachings and the concomitant desire to convert Africans was not limited to clergymen. In 1621, William Bragge, who had been a privateer in 1581, wrote a list of his 'Greevances and Demands' to the Somers Island and East India Companies, which included an inventory of goods that he had purchased whilst in their service and sought compensation for. In this document he refers to thirteen 'heathens', 'negroes or Indian people', whom he had encountered in Bermuda a few years earlier. They were, he said: 'Created after the Image, Similitude, and Likenesse of God, our most heauenlie, most sweete Comforter, whom in Troubles is reddey alwaies to bee founde'. He went on to explain that:

the Lord Jesus hath suffered Death as well for them as for all you, for in time the Lord may call them to be true Christians, the which I most humbly beseech thy Great and Glorious Majestie in Thy good appointed Time, that thou wilt, Good Father, out of Thy most great, sweete and careful Loue call them all home in Thy most good appointed Time, most merciful and most loving sweete Father, which must Good Lord be done, if it pleaseth Thy greate and glorious Majestie, before that most heavenly kingdome of thyne is finished...

This heartfelt prayer, which continues for another two paragraphs, shows that not all merchants were motivated solely by profit, and that the ideal of conversion had spread beyond the pulpit. Bragge asked for over £2000 in compensation for other goods including copper, hides, sugar, ordnance and brass, but refused to put a value on human life.³⁸ Conversion was so universal a precept that it was even followed by William Longcastle, a man so impious as to be hanged for a pirate in 1609. The pamphlet telling the story of his trial relates how:

Captaine *Longcastle* in this ship of the *Vlisses* [had] a Negro, who not a month before, he had bought to be his boy and brought to be a Christian.

³⁸ 'Petition of William Bragge to the Honourable Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, and all the Company of the East India and Sommer Islands', BL, Royal MS, 17 B. X; Chapter 5, pp. 279-81.

This fact is confirmed by the African boy himself: ‘the *Moore* had confest he had made him one’, and this act of conversion is pronounced ‘the most vertuo[us] & blessedst deede that he did showe in his whole life.’³⁹

Instruction in the faith

The Protestant idea that a man must be called to the faith by God meant that conversion was usually a lengthy process, in which the convert must first be educated to a level where he or she could understand the basic tenets of the religion and convince clergyman and congregation of their faith. When Paul Bayning died on 30 September 1616, he left a bequest of £10 to John Simpson, the minister of St Olave, Hart Street, of which half was to be used for ‘instructing Anthony my Negro in the principles of the Christian faith and religion when he shalbe fitt to be baptised’.⁴⁰ Anthony was not as yet ‘fitt’ or ready for baptism, but it was anticipated that he would be at some point in the future. The process of conversion can be seen in the case of an Indian boy, brought to Kent from Armagon, the site of the first English factory in the Bay of Bengal, by an East India merchant in 1633. On 27 June 1635, Henry Jenken, proctor, petitioned the Canterbury Archdeaconry Court, stating that:

Mr. Nicholas Bix merchant about 2 yeares since being at Armagon upon the Coast of Cormondell brought with him from thence into England a certain Indian Aethiopian youth, now of the age of 13 yeares or thereabouts borne of p[a]rents that were infidels, wch youth ever since hath been brought up heer in England & instructed in the English tongue, & hath been a frequenter of our churches & a diligent hearer of the word preached, & hath also been catechised in the rudiments

³⁹*The Liues, Apprehensions, Arraignments, and Executions, of the 19. Late Pyrates Namely: Capt. Harris. Iennings. Longcastle. Downes. Haulsey. and their Companies. As they were Seuerally Indited on St. Margrets Hill in Southwarke, on the 22. of December last, and Executed the Fryday Following* (1609), sigs. E2r, E4r; Chapter 2, p. 142.

⁴⁰Appendix, Wills and Inventories, no. 4; Chapter 2, p. 155.

of Xtian religion, & hath joined wth the congregation in prayers appointed by his Maties authority, and doth now desire to be baptised & to be made a member of the Church, as by a certificate under the hand of Mr. Reginald Ansell parson of ffordwich in this diocese now exhibited.

The licence was granted with a mandate to certify the manner, place and time of baptism.⁴¹ The very next day, an ‘Indian Manchild of 14 years old, of Armagon’, was baptised ‘Thomas’ at St. Mary Fordwich.⁴² His baptism was preceded, as Jenken related, by two years of education in the English language and the Christian religion. This was a vital precursor to baptism, as the convert would need to demonstrate his or her faith before the minister and the congregation. The pattern was echoed by Pocahontas, the most famous Virginian convert. Thomas Dale recounted in a letter of 1614 that:

Powhatans daughter I caused to be carefully instructed in Christian Religion...who after shee had made some good progresse therein, renounced publicly her countrey Idolatry, openly confessed her Christian faith, [and] was, as she desired, baptised.⁴³

Edward Terrill emphasized in his account of Francis of Bristol that she was ‘truly convinced of Sin’ and ‘truly converted to ye Lord Jesus Christ’:

which by her profession or declaration at ye time of her reception together with her sincere conversation she gave great ground for charity to believe she was truly brought to Christ; for this poor Aethiopian’s soule savoured much of God, and she walked very humble and blameless in her Conversation to her end.⁴⁴

When ‘Mary Phillis of Morisco’ went to see the Curate of St Botolph’s Aldgate in 1597, Christopher Threlkeld, she demonstrated a good understanding of the faith:

[he] demaunding of her certen questions concerning hir faith, where unto shee answering him verie Christian lyke, and afterwardes she being by the said Mr Christopher Threlkeld our Curat willed to say the Lordes Prayer, and also to

⁴¹ Canterbury Cathedral Archives- DCb/L/R/13.

⁴² CCA-DCb/BT/1/94; Habib Index, no. 352.

⁴³ A.T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 83.

⁴⁴ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 28.

rehearse the articles of hir beliefe, which she did both say and and [sic] rehearse verie decently and well, confessing hir fayth...⁴⁵

This performance would have required a good understanding of the English language, and serious instruction, as she was able to recite the Lord's Prayer and the articles of her faith off by heart. When Dederi Jacqoah was baptized at St. Mildred's Poultry in 1611, he also demonstrated that he had been well instructed in the Christian religion:

He showed his opinion concerning Jesus Christ and his faith in him; he repeated the Lords prayer in English at the fonte, and so was baptised and signed with the signe of the Crosse.⁴⁶

Given the need to educate before baptism, it was no doubt thought simpler to convert the young, and indeed where age is recorded, the majority of African converts were in their teens or early twenties. In October 1636, Dr. Robert Mason, Judge of the Vice-Admiralty for Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, wrote to Secretary Edward Nicholas that:

There are two young Moors there, not above 13 or 14 years of age who some think may be made good Christians, and in that regard he desires to understand the pleasure of the Lords of the Admiralty if they should be condemned.⁴⁷

These boys seem to have been captured from a ship of Barbary pirates, along with a whole crew of 'Turks and Moors', but it was only these two adolescent boys who were singled out as potential converts.

Motivation

The same case also prompts the question of motivation. In November 1636 Jerome, Earl of Portland reported to the Lords of the Admiralty that all the Moors detained on the Isle

⁴⁵ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 17.

⁴⁶ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 36; Chapter 2, p. 138.

⁴⁷ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 26.

of Wight had been condemned to death, although ‘two offered to be Christians’.⁴⁸ However, the sentence may not have been carried out, as the Moors may have been of more use as hostages to exchange for English prisoners. It is easy to understand why these two Moors were ready to convert to Christianity to avoid death. Englishmen captured by the Barbary pirates ‘turned Turk’ for the same reasons.⁴⁹ However, those resident in England for longer may have had more complex reasons to turn to a Christian God. As none of the evidence is written by the individuals in question, we cannot see into their hearts. Nonetheless, the accounts are keen to emphasize the willing desire for baptism. ‘Mary Phyllis of Morisco’ was resident in England for some 12 or 13 years before she was christened at St. Botolph, Aldgate in June 1597. This suggests an active decision and an absence of compulsion. According to the detailed account of Thomas Harridance, the parish clerk, ‘taking some howld of faith in Jesus Chryst, [she] was desyrous to becom a Christian.’ He then recounts that the ‘Curat demaundid of hir if she weare desyrous to be paptized [sic] in the said fayth, whereunt[o] shee said, “I”.’⁵⁰ The baptism of Dederi Jaquoah in 1611 at St Mildred Poultry, took place ‘At the request of the said Mr [John] Davies and at the desire of the said Dedery, and by allowance of authority’. The record also states that Dederi was expressly ‘sent out of his cuntrey by his father [King Caddi-biah of Guinea]...to be baptised.’⁵¹ This more mixed account seems a more accurate explanation for these baptisms. In order for them to take place, the African did have to be willing, and indeed desire baptism. However, in order to achieve baptism, it was necessary to have the support of one’s master, and the cooperation of the church

⁴⁸ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 27.

⁴⁹ *Piracy, Slavery and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*, ed. D.J. Vitkus (New York, 2001); R.C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast and Italy, 1500-1800* (New York, 2003).

⁵⁰ G.H.L., MS 9234/6 (3 June 1597).

⁵¹ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 36; Chapter 2, p. 138.

authorities. The church, as we have seen by the writings of clergymen above, was keen to baptize individuals who could demonstrate an understanding of and dedication to the faith. Masters also often seemed keen to help their servants to become Christians. In the case of Mary Phyllis, the desire for baptism seems to have arisen shortly after she became ‘servant with one Millicent Porter a seamster’.⁵² It seems that her new mistress had encouraged and supported her: ‘shee made sute by hir said m(ist)res to have some conference with the Curat’, and ultimately Porter stood witness as her godmother. This Millicent Porter had been charged in 1584 with being ‘one that liveth very suspitiouslye’, and done public penance at St. Paul’s, despite her denial of being ‘guilty of ffornication or adulterie’, and one wonders if this experience had made her one of those reformed characters that make the most zealous evangelicals.⁵³

Godparents and naming

Another reason why it was useful to canvas the support of one’s master was that they could then act as godparent. Millicent Porter stood as godmother to Mary Phyllis, John Davies as godfather to Dederi Jacqoah. One of the key things a godparent was asked to do in the ceremony was to give a new, Christian, name to the convert. Julyane, Paul Bayning’s maid was ‘named Mary’.⁵⁴ In the case of Mary Phyllis, the curate:

said unto the wittnesses whose names weare, William Benton, Margerie Barrick and Mylicent Porter, saying unto them, you shall name this chyld, who named her, Mary Fillis, of Morisco, dawghter to Fillis of Morisco, a black more being as shee said in that contrie both a basket maker and a shovell maker.

Mary seems to be her new name, and she has retained her father’s name as a surname.

⁵² Appendix, Baptisms, no. 17; Chapter 3, p. 180.

⁵³ Knutson, ‘A Caliban in St. Mildred’s Poultry’, p. 124, n. 10.

⁵⁴ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 21.

Dederi Jacquaoh is renamed 'John', after John Davies, the merchant who brought him to England. It was quite normal for the baptized to be named after a godparent throughout Christendom. For example Leo Africanus took the name John Leo after Pope Leo X, when he was baptized in Rome in 1520.⁵⁵ Thus, in cases where the source of the Christian name is not specified, we can speculate. Chinano the Turk was renamed William, perhaps after William Hawkins, who is credited in Hanmer's text with inspiring his conversion.⁵⁶

In cases where no baptism record can be found, but the African bears a Christian name, the name suggests both that a baptism had taken place, and the identity of the godparent. We cannot learn whether the porter Edward Swarthy was baptized at Lydney because the parish registers there do not survive before 1678. However, that he is named 'Edward' implies that he had been baptized, perhaps with his master Sir Edward Winter as his godfather. Similarly, the African woman at the court of James IV of Scotland, Margaret More, may have been named after Margaret Tudor, who married the Scottish king in 1503.⁵⁷

Half of the two hundred individuals with first names in my Appendix bore everyday English names, the most common being John and Mary, followed by Anthony, Peter, Thomas and Elizabeth, then James, George and Richard. These names testify to a certain level of assimilation, and possible baptism. Baptism was even more likely in other cases where Africans, or more particularly African women, bore explicitly 'Christian'

⁵⁵ N. Zemon Davis, *Trickster's Travels: A Sixteenth Century Muslim Between Worlds* (2007), p. 65.

⁵⁶ Hanmer, *The baptizing of a Turke*, sig. F4r.

⁵⁷ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 91, 96.

Christian names. Seven were named 'Grace', five 'Christian', and one 'Ffaith', another 'Charity Lucanea'. A further two were named after biblical characters: 'Jesper' (the name given to one of the three Magi since the 6th century) and 'Solomon'.

Acceptance into the community

It was not just the master who stood as godparent. In the most detailed baptism account, we learn that the Africans were attended by other parishioners too. Besides her mistress Millicent Porter, William Benton and Margerie Barrick also stood as godparents to Mary Phyllis. Dederi Jacquoah also had a full complement of godparents, as the account relates: 'His sureties were John Davies haberdasher, Isaac Kilburne mercer, Robert Singleton churchwarden, Edmund Towers, Paul Gurgeny and Rebecca Hutchens.'⁵⁸

According to the Book of Common Prayer, godparents were expected to:

see that this enfante be taught (so sone as he shalbe able to learne) what a solempne vowe promise, and profession he hath made by you. And that he may know these thinges the better, ye shal call upon him to hear sermons. And chiefly ye shal provide that he may learne the Crede, the Lordes praier and the x Commaundementes in the English tongue, and al other thinges which a Christian man ought to know, and beleve to his soules health, and that this chyld may be vertuously brought up, to leade a godly, and a christian lyfe.⁵⁹

Although the Africans in question were no longer infants, the duty of care implied here would have remained, and this duty would not have been taken lightly by these god-fearing people. Their words were heard by the rest of the congregation, as the book of Common Prayer stipulates that:

Baptisme should not be ministred but upon Sondayes, and other holy dayes, when the most nombre of people may come together, aswel for that the congregation there present maye testifie the receyving of them that be newly Baptized into the

⁵⁸ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 36.

⁵⁹ *The Book of Common Prayer*, ed. Cummings, p. 149.

number of Christes Church, as also because in the Baptisme of Infants everye man present may be put in remembraunce of his awne profession made to God in hys Baptisme.

Despite the fact that Mary Phyllis was baptized on a Friday, many people attended. Also recorded as present at the ceremony were: Mrs Magdalene Threlkeld (the curate Christopher Threlkeld's wife), Matthew Pearson, Mrs Young, Thomas Ponder, the sexton and his wife Gertrude, Thomas Harridance, the parish clerk and 'dyvers others'. Similarly, in 1621, Maria, a 5 year old black girl who had come from Spain with Endymion Porter, was baptized 'in presentia multos'- in the presence of many- at St. Martin in the Fields, Westminster.⁶⁰ The large congregations who bore witness to these events testify primarily perhaps to the curiosity of parishioners keen to witness an unusual event. However, they also represent a ritualized welcoming of the new convert into the wider community. The words of the ceremony ordained that the convert was now 'regenerate' and would be 'grafted into the bodye of Christes congregacion'.⁶¹ While some post-colonialist scholars have seen fit to interpret these baptisms as an effacement of African identity, prompted by English cultural superiority, these arguments would have made no sense to the people of the time. Monotheistic religion by definition does not admit ideas of cultural relativity, and it seems ahistorical to judge English society in these terms. It is vital to read these accounts in the correct context. In his recent commentary on the account of Mary Phillis's baptism Imtiaz Habib wrote:

The racial agenda that writes the interested fiction of these details is noticeable...when in ritually asking 'the Congregation' to join him in the conversion ceremony, he asks for divine dispensation 'to grant her the one thing which by nature she could not have.'⁶²

⁶⁰ Appendix, Baptisms, nos. 17, 45.

⁶¹ *The Book of Common Prayer*, ed. Cummings, p. 145.

⁶² Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 92.

However, a quick glance at the *Book of Common Prayer* (1559) shows that the minister, far from making a racial slur, in suggesting that an African could not ‘by nature’ be baptised, was in fact merely following the order of service, as Harridance emphasises in his account: ‘the said Curat using... the wordes of the Queenes Majesties booke’. Thus, all individuals undergoing baptism were reminded that their sinful nature made them unworthy of redemption and it was only Christ’s love that saved them:

DERELY beloved, forasmuche as al men be conceived and borne in synne, and that our saviour Christ saith, none can entre into the kingdom of God (except he be regenerate, and borne a new of water and the holy gost) I beseche you to cal upon God the father, throughe our lord Jesus Christ, that of his bounteous mercy, he wil graunt to these children, *that thing which by nature thei can not have*, that they may be baptized with water and the holy Ghost, and received into Christes holy church; and be made lively membres of the same.⁶³

Thus, while Habib insists that such events represent the coercion of the African to ‘conform to the necessities of her displaced and disadvantaged English life’, and indeed we only have Harridance’s word for it that she was ‘desirous’ to be baptised, the events are better interpreted as a welcoming into the congregation, and thus the local community. The experience of Frances with the Baptist church in Bristol in the late 1640s illustrates how an African could become an accepted member of a community in this way. As we have seen, she became a full member of the church, and when she was on her deathbed, she was not forgotten by her friends:

one of ye Sisters of ye Congregation, coming to visit her in her Sicknesse, she solemnly tooke her leave of her, as to this world, and prayed ye Sister to remember her to ye whole Congregation.⁶⁴

It was clearly envisaged that after baptism, the African convert would take part in parish

⁶³ *The Book of Common Prayer*, ed. Cummings, p. 141. My italics.

⁶⁴ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 28.

life, attending church regularly and interacting with other members of the congregation, as Thomas, the Indian boy brought to Kent by Nicholas Bix, had already begun to do before baptism.⁶⁵ In 1568, it was reported that the Barbarian Lambert Waterson ‘goeth to his parish church, St. Giles in the Fyldes’.⁶⁶ It was perhaps as a result of such inclusion that Frances, Lady Bromley’s ‘Christian negro servant’ chose to leave her legacy of £10 to the poor of St. Mary’s parish, Putney in March 1625.⁶⁷

Marriage

Baptism was not the only religious ceremony that Africans participated in. There is evidence of Africans being married, both to other Africans and to English people, in the Church of England. Like baptism, this ceremony was to be performed not just ‘in the sight of God’ but also ‘in the face of his congregacion’.⁶⁸ Thus, when George Best reported in 1578 that ‘I myself have seene an Ethiopian as blacke as cole brought to England who taking a faire English woman to wife, begat a sonne in all respects as blacke as the father’, he may have meant it literally, and have truly been a witness to such a marriage in his home parish.⁶⁹ This remark has not always been taken seriously as evidence of an actual instance of interracial marriage in early modern England, as many critics have preferred to analyse the theories of skin colour that Best discusses in this passage.⁷⁰ Such a marriage was certainly unusual and comment provoking, but given that

⁶⁵ See above, p. 225.

⁶⁶ Appendix, Tax Returns, no.3; Chapter 3, p. 206.

⁶⁷ Appendix, Church and Municipal Accounts, nos. 11,12; Chapter 3, pp. 211-2.

⁶⁸ *The Book of Common Prayer*, ed. Cummings, p. 157.

⁶⁹ Hakluyt, VII, 262.

⁷⁰ Jordan, *White Over Black*, p. 15; P. Fryer, *Staying Power: the History of Black People in Britain* (1984), p. 143; Hall, *Things of Darkness*, pp. 11-12; V.M. Vaughan, *Performing Blackness on English Stages, 1500–1800* (New York, 2005), p. 47; L.E. Boose, ‘“The Getting of a Lawful Race”: Racial discourse in early modern England and the unrepresentable black woman’ in *Women, ‘race’ and writing in the early modern period*, ed. M.Hendricks, P.A. Parker (1994), p. 44; K. Newman, ‘And Wash the Ethiop White:

Best lived in Ratcliff, a maritime hamlet, part of the parish of Stepney which had a documented black population from 1588, it was not implausible.⁷¹ Neither, by the end of James I's reign, was it unique. In 1600 'Joane Marya a Black Moore' of the parish of St Philip and St Jacob, Bristol was described as 'nowe the wyffe of Thomas Smythe Byllysmaker'.⁷² This man manufactured 'byllys' or bills, a type of weapon.⁷³ In December 1613 at St Nicholas, Deptford, 'Samuel Munsur a blackamoure & Jane Johnson' were married. In October 1616, George, a 'blackamoor' married Marie Smith in Staplehurst, Kent. In December 1617 the marriage of 'James Curre being a Moores Christian and Margaret Person, a maid' was recorded at Holy Trinity the Less, London.⁷⁴ These four examples from different parts of the country show that both African women and men could and did intermarry with the local population.

Both James IV's black drummer and Henry VIII's black trumpeter are known to have married. The More taubronar's 'wif and barne', are mentioned in the Treasurer's Accounts in 1507. John Blanke, Henry VIII's black trumpeter, was married in January 1512.⁷⁵ The identity of their spouses remains uncertain, but it seems likely that these were two further examples of inter-racial unions. This evidence goes some way towards undermining the insistence of some scholars that a deep fear of miscegenation permeated early modern society. Karen Newman, looking in particular at black women, concluded

Feminity and the Monstrous in Othello', in J. E. Howard and M.F. O'Connor (ed.), *Shakespeare Reproduced: The Text in History and Ideology* (1987), pp. 78-80.

⁷¹ Sydney Maddocks, 'Ratcliff', *The Co-partnership Herald*, III, 26 (April 1933). [http://www.mernick.org.uk/thhol/ratcliff.html, accessed 25 September 2011]

⁷² Appendix, Baptisms, no. 19; Chapter 3, p. 209.

⁷³ The spelling 'byllys' is used by Margaret Paston in 1465: 'the tenauntes havynge rusty polexis and byllys': *Paston letters and papers of the 15th century*, ed. N. Davis, (English Early Text Soc., XX, 2004), p. 312.

⁷⁴ Appendix, Marriages, nos. 4-6.

⁷⁵ Appendix, Household accounts, nos. 62, 64, 88.

that:

Feminity is not opposed to blackness and monstrosity as white is to black, but identified with the monstrous, an identification that makes miscegenation doubly fearful.⁷⁶

Lynda Boose has interpreted Antony's complaint that he has 'forgone the getting of a lawful race' by committing adultery with Cleopatra to mean that he regrets fathering not bastards but half-Egyptian children.⁷⁷ These concerns do not seem to have overly worried ordinary parishioners. After all, they had a more positive biblical example to follow, for Moses had married an Ethiopian woman.⁷⁸

Hitherto, the only known example of a marriage between two Africans was that alluded to in the 1618 burial record at St. Botolph's Aldgate of 'Anne Vause, a black-more, wife to Anthonie Vause, Trompetter, of the said countrey'.⁷⁹ As no other country is referred to in the immediate proximity of this record, it seems fair to conclude that Anthony is of the same country as his wife. However, I have discovered three further marriages between black partners recorded in Stepney between 1608 and 1610. In July 1608 'Peter & Mary both nigers' were married at the church of St. Dunstan's and All Saints. The following February saw the nuptials of 'John Mens of Ratclif a niger & Luce Pluatt a niger', and in September 1610, 'Salomon Cowrder of Popler a niger sailler & Katheren Castilliano a niger also' were united.⁸⁰ These records show that Africans in Britain were able to marry

⁷⁶ Newman, 'And Wash the Ethiop White: Feminity and the Monstrous in Othello', p. 145.

⁷⁷ *Antony and Cleopatra*, III, iii, 127-9; Boose, "'The Getting of a Lawful Race'", p. 47.

⁷⁸ Num. xii.1. Although the Hebrew refers to a 'Cushite' woman, so she may have been from N. Arabia, 16th-17th century English readers would have taken it to mean Africa, as the Latin text was 'Aethiopissam', translated as 'Ethiopian woman' in the King James's Bible. See also Iyengar, *Shades of Difference*, p. 24.

⁷⁹ Appendix, Burials, no. 72.

⁸⁰ Appendix, Marriages, nos. 1-3. These 'three marriages...between Negroes' were noted by the East London History Group in 1982, but without further elucidation or comment: A.H. French et. al. 'The Population of Stepney in the Early Seventeenth Century: a report on an analysis of the parish registers of

each other and others.

Legitimate offspring

The 1616 marriage of ‘George a blackamore’ and Marie Smith in Staplehurst proved fruitful. The All Saints parish register records the baptisms of ‘George ye sonne of George a blackmore’ on 13 February 1620 and of ‘Elizabeth the daughter of George the Blackamore’ on 19 May 1622.⁸¹ Further evidence of African men with legitimate families is provided by the examples of Reasonabel Blackman and Emmanuel Mauri, whom we encountered in the previous chapter.⁸² Reasonabel Blackman, the silkweaver of Southwark had three children. Edward was baptised in the church of St. Olave Tooley Street in February 1587 and his siblings Edmund and Jane were buried there in October 1592.⁸³ ‘Emmanuelius Mauri als. Emmanuel the Moore’ had two children in Truro. His daughter Maria was buried at St. Mary’s, Truro in August 1611, and his son Richard was baptised there in October 1612.⁸⁴ As with many parish registers in this period, the mothers of these children are left unidentified. In the context of the marriages cited above, and the relative size of the English and African populations in Southwark and Truro at the time, it seems likely that their mothers were Englishwomen, and therefore these families provide two further possible examples of inter-racial marriages. In March 1620, Michael Ffageamy, the son of Anthony Ffageamy, described as ‘Mauri’, and his wife ‘sphillidis’ [Phyllis?], was baptized at St Martin in the Fields, Westminster.⁸⁵

Stepney, 1606-1610’, in M. Drake ed., *Population Studies from Parish Registers: A Selection of Readings from Local Population Studies* (Derby, 1982), p. 173. For Cowrder, see Chapter 3, p. 183.

⁸¹ Appendix, Baptisms, nos. 42, 46.

⁸² Chapter 3, pp. 207-8.

⁸³ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 8, Burials, nos. 21, 22.

⁸⁴ Appendix, Burials, no. 63; Baptisms, no. 41.

⁸⁵ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 45.

Again, as his wife is not described as ‘Mauri’, it seems logical to conclude that she was English, and that this was another inter-racial union sanctioned by the Church of England.

The Book of Common Prayer stipulated that:

The newe married persones (the same day of their mariage) must receyve the holy Communion.⁸⁶

Therefore, it seems fair to assume that the Africans who married had already undergone baptism, even where there is no explicit record of such a ceremony. It must have been a precondition, as is affirmed by the fact that James Curres was explicitly labelled ‘a Moore Christian’ in the record of his marriage to Margaret Person in 1617.⁸⁷ In fact, Samuel Munsur of Greenwich was baptized on 28 November 1613, a month before his wedding on 26 December 1613, which would allow just enough time for the banns to be read ‘thre severall Sondaies or holy daies, in the tyme of service, the people beyng present, after the accustomed maner’ before the ceremony.⁸⁸ Furthermore, the baptizing of the children of these marriages shows a further acceptance of the centrality of the Christian faith in the lives of these families, and that they continued to live their lives within the parish, into the second generation.

Death and Burial

When Edward Terrill wrote about Frances, the black woman who was a member of the Baptist congregation of Bristol, one of the things that struck him most was her conduct on her deathbed. He recounted:

And when she was upon her deathbed she sent a Remarkable exhortation unto ye

⁸⁶ *The Book of Common Prayer*, ed. Cummings, p. 164.

⁸⁷ Appendix, Marriages, no. 6.

⁸⁸ *The Book of Common Prayer*, ed. Cummings, p. 157.

whole church with whom she walked, as her last request unto them; which argued her holy, child-like fear of ye Lord and how precious ye Lord was to her soule, as was observed by ye manner of her Expressing it, which was this... she did begg every soule To take heed that they did lette ye glory of God to be dear unto them; -a word meet for ye Church ever to remember and for every particular member to observe, that they doe not lose the Glory of God in their families, neighbourhoods, or places where God casts them...the dyeing words of a Blackmoore, fit for a White heart to store.⁸⁹

Though the ‘last dying speech’ was a favourite device of religious writers, and Frances’s words are at best reported third hand, and are therefore perhaps distorted so as to provide the best example for her fellow members, there seems no reason to doubt Frances’s faith. The account is similar to that Robert Harcourt made of the death of the Virginian interpreter, John Provost, who died on the voyage to Orinoco in 1609:

being at the point of death, desired some of my company... to sing a Psalme with him...And he acknowledged that he had bene a wicked sinner: but did hope that he should be saved by the precious blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, & desired all them that were present to beare witness that he dyed a Christian, yea (as he added) a Christian of England.’⁹⁰

When it came to burial, it was important to ascertain that the individual was indeed a Christian. In 1597, at St Mary Woolchurch, ‘a blakmore belonging to Mr John Davies, died in White Chappel parishe, was laied in the ground in this church yarde sine frequentia populi et sine ceremoniis quia utrum christianus esset necne nesciebamus [without any company of people and without ceremony, because we did not know whether he was a Christian or not]’.⁹¹ Again, the role of the congregation was important- here they were not called to witness the burial, and clearly this ‘blakmore’ had not been a

⁸⁹ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 28.

⁹⁰ Provost had ‘sometime...been in England, and served Sr. John Gilbert many yeeres.’ Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters*, pp. 40, 33.

⁹¹ Appendix, Burials, no. 39. John Davies seems to have been unable to tell the church what the African’s religious status was.

member of the parish of St. Mary's, or of Whitechapel, as no one knew him well enough to know his religious status, or even his name. Nonetheless, it was considered a possibility that he might have been a Christian. Similarly, the 'neger' buried 'on Catt downe' an area to the east of Plymouth, close to the sea and the Plym estuary in 1593-4, as opposed to in a churchyard suggests that the 'neger' was not known to be Christian, or had perhaps died soon after arriving on a ship.⁹² This seems to have been the case with 'Constantyn a negare' who was buried 'out of ye pylgrme of portmouthe' at St. Olave, Tooley Street in November 1605, although no further detail about him is given.⁹³ However, these cases are the exception, and it seems more likely that the majority of the 94 Africans found in the burial records had been baptized, as was the case when 'Jhon the Blackamoor' was baptized at St. Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury on 10 May 1565 and buried thirteen days later.⁹⁴ In one case, the record asserts the African's religious status: on 28 January 1617 the register of St. Olave, Hart Street notes the burial of 'Mark Antonie, a negro *Christian*'. He had in fact been baptised just two days before.⁹⁵

There is evidence that Africans received proper Christian burial, with suitable ceremony. Edward Terrill recounts that Frances of Bristol was:

Honourably interred, being carried by ye Elders, and ye chieftest of note of ye Brethren in ye congregation (devout men bearing her) to ye grave, where she must rest until our Lord doth come, who will bring his Saints with him.⁹⁶

The unusually detailed accounts of St. Botolph's Aldgate gives us some further details

⁹² Appendix, Church and Municipal Accounts, nos. 1,2.

⁹³ Appendix, Burials, no. 55.

⁹⁴ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 1, Burials no. 2.

⁹⁵ Appendix, Burials, no. 72, Baptisms, no. 43. My italics.

⁹⁶ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 28.

about the funerals of the Africans buried there. When ‘Domingo, beinge a Ginnye negaro and beinge servaunt to the Right Worshipfull S(i)r William Winter knyght’, died of consumption in August 1587, he ‘had the best clothe’. In October 1593, ‘Cassanggo, a negar servant to Mr Thomas Barbor a marchaunt’, died of the plague aged 20 and was buried in the ‘common grownd because he was coffind’. He had one bearer, and it seems he was provided with the best cloth (costing 9d), but it was not used. That November, ‘Robert a negar being servant to William Mathew a Jentleman... was buried in the owter church yeard being without the crosse walle...he had the second clothe and fower bearers’. Three years later, in March 1596, Ffrancis, ‘a Negar’, servant to Peter Miller, a beer brewer, also had four bearers, but ‘the best cloth’.⁹⁷ Another of Peter Miller’s servants, Kutt Towiller, was buried a month later, in April, and his funeral seems to have been rather more elaborate, attended by the minister, clerk and sexton, and marked by a ‘passing bell’.⁹⁸ However the difference in their funeral arrangements is not due to their differing racial origins or religious status. Another entry in the register, for one Alice Scotteridge records only that she had the second cloth.⁹⁹ In July 1614 ‘John Matthews a black-moore’ was ‘buryed in the common ground...was coffined and had the black clothe’.¹⁰⁰ Thus the burial arrangements for Africans were not necessarily different to those of other parishioners, and their passing was marked with all the solemn ceremony due to a ‘deare brother, here departed’.¹⁰¹

Illicit behaviour

⁹⁷ Appendix, Burials, nos. 10, 27, 28, 36.

⁹⁸ GHL, MS 9234/5 (18 April 1596).

⁹⁹ GHL, MS 9234/1(5 September 1587).

¹⁰⁰ Appendix, Burials, no. 66.

¹⁰¹ *The Book of Common Prayer*, ed. Cummings, p. 172.

Thus far, we have only examined those aspects of life that were sanctioned by the church. Now let us examine the evidence of illicit behaviour that emerges from the parish registers and the church courts. Were the stereotype of the ‘lascivious Moor’ to be believed, we should expect to find ample material here. Leo Africanus tells us in an oft-quoted passage of his *Description of Africa* that there is ‘no nation under heaven more prone to Venerie’ than the Negros, and that ‘They spend all their daies in lewd practices... They have great swarmes of harlots among them; whereupon a man may easily conjecture their manner of living.’¹⁰² On the stage, we find Eleazar described as a ‘leacher’ in *Lust’s Dominion* (1599), while female characters are portrayed as inconstant and lusty, like Zanche in Webster’s *White Devil* (1611).¹⁰³ However, the more prosaic evidence of the parish registers and church courts tell a different tale. Africans were not unusually libidinous. When Africans committed the ‘sins’ of fornication and bastard-bearing/siring they were brought to account for them, in the eyes of the community, like everybody else. Fornication was punished in the church courts and illegitimate children had their ‘baseborn’ status clearly stated at baptism. In one register in Devon, the clerk wrote a large capital ‘B’ for ‘bastard’ or ‘base’ in the margin beside the relevant entries.¹⁰⁴ However, illegitimate children of Africans were still baptized, and fostered by the parish, just as the illegitimate children of the native population were.

Extra-marital relationships

¹⁰² *Othello*, I.i.126; Leo Africanus, I, 180; Jordan, *White Over Black*, pp. 33-4.

¹⁰³ A.B. Mangum, *Reflection of Africa in Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama and Poetry* (2002), p. 51; I. Habib, “‘Hel’s Perfect Character’ or the Blackamoor Maid in Early Modern English Drama: The Postcolonial Cultural History of a Dramatic Type”, *Literature, Interpretation, Theory*, 11, no. 3 (2000), pp. 277-304.

¹⁰⁴ The recording of illegitimate births was common practice: P. Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations* (1977), p. 109; R. Adair, *Courtship, Illegitimacy and Marriage in Early Modern England* (1996), pp. 32, 37.

Black relationships

There is only one known example of an extra-marital relationship between two Africans.

Their names were Grace and James Diego, and they were both servants to a Mr.

Bromfield of Limehouse, although James had moved on by the time their child was

baptized at St. Dunstan and All Saints, Stepney in February 1631:

James sonne of Grace - a blackmore servant of Mr Bromfield of Limehouse begotten as she affirmeth by James Diego a Negro late servant to Mr Bromfield born in the house of William Ward of Limehouse mariner.¹⁰⁵

Close relationships between servants serving in the same household, resulting in illegitimate children were commonplace in early modern society. Cramped living conditions bred familiarity in many households.¹⁰⁶ In this way this unique record fits into a larger story.

Inter-racial fornication

The ecclesiastical courts provide us with some examples of inter-racial fornication. This was one of the sexual sins that church courts sought to police in the early modern era. It was extremely common, with some 60-90 cases of sexual incontinence detected annually during the 1590s in the archdeaconry of North Wiltshire alone.¹⁰⁷ In February 1593 Joanna Bennett of Grays Thurrock, Essex, was brought before the Church court at West Ham and charged with 'having carnall knowledge and abusing her body with a certain blackmore now dwelling in the town'. She did penance a year later, but nothing further is known of the 'blackmore'. In December 1593, in Aldingbourne, West Sussex, Agnes Musby was presented and cited 'for fornicacyon w[i]th Paull a blakemore'. She was

¹⁰⁵ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 52; Chapter 3, p. 213.

¹⁰⁶ Adair, *Courtship, Illegitimacy and Marriage*, p.88, and below, p. 248.

¹⁰⁷ Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England*, p. 238.

pronounced contumacious in not appearing, her penalty held over until the next court day. Paul was not present either. He was cited ‘viis et modis’, a more extreme summons; failure to appear could then result in suspension from entry into church. In January 1594, one Haines senior certified that Agnes Musby had done her penance. There is no further mention of Paul. In Stepney in April 1632, ‘Grace, a blackamoore’ was presented by churchwardens for living incontinently with Walter Church.¹⁰⁸ The penalties proscribed in these cases were of the normal levels of severity and there is no indication that the courts condemned the inter-racial rather than the moral aspect of the offence.

Illegitimate children of mixed parentage

Beyond the testimony of the church courts, the parish registers provide ample evidence of inter-racial sexual liaisons, with their records of the illegitimate offspring of these encounters. Such results were also described in contemporary literature. In 1584, Reginald Scot told of:

a young woman that brought foorth a young blacke Moore, by means of an old black Moore who was in hir house at the time of her conception, whome she beheld in phantasie as is supposed: howbeit a gelous husband will not be satisfied with such phantasticall imaginations. For in truth a blacke Moore never faileth to beget black children, of whatever colour soever the other be.¹⁰⁹

Scot, and the modern reader, seem likely to agree with the husband and suspect that the young woman ‘beheld’ the ‘old black Moore’ in reality, not fantasy.¹¹⁰ In Shakespeare’s *Merchant of Venice* (1597), we find the following exchange:

¹⁰⁸ Appendix, Court Records, nos. 13, 14, 34.

¹⁰⁹ R.Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (New York, 1972), p. 177.

¹¹⁰ Although contemporary medical theory did think that what was seen at the moment of conception could affect the outcome. See Gen.xxx.37-43; Pliny, *Natural History*, VI. xii. 52 (Loeb edition, 10 vols., ed. H. Rackham, 1961, II, pp. 540-1); H. Croke, *Microcosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man* (1615), sig. Dd6r.

LORENZO: I shall answer that better to the commonwealth than you can the getting up of the Negro's belly; the Moor is with child by you, Launcelot.

LAUNCELOT: It is much that the Moor should be more than reason; but if she be less than an honest woman she is indeed more than I took her for.

LORENZO: How every fool can play upon the word!¹¹¹

It has been argued that this reference to a bastard-bearing blackamoor must be a topical allusion, as the identity of Gobbo's mistress is of no consequence to the play.¹¹² The archives provide much support for this conclusion. The records yield evidence of 36 illegitimate children born to mixed couples between 1578 and 1640. 18 of these were born in Devon, and 21 were born between 1590 and 1610, with another 7 born in the 1630s. Of the 36, six were born in cases where the father was black and twenty six where the mother was black. In 4 cases, the sex of the black parent is uncertain, as the child is described as the 'daughter of a Blackmore' or 'ye childe of a negor'.¹¹³ Given that in the majority of the cases cited here, it is the mother that is black, this seems likely with these examples too. These figures may also be affected by the fact that in the case of illegitimate children, the mother's identity is much more certain than the father's.

Black fathers

The earliest example of a black father is that of Gylman Ivey, described as a 'negro' or 'Ethiop', who had two children with Anna Spencer of Dyrham, Gloucestershire: a girl named Elizabeth, baptized in October 1578, and a boy named Richard who was baptized in February 1581 but was buried in June 1583.¹¹⁴ Anna Spencer is described as a

¹¹¹ *The Merchant of Venice*, III. v. 31-43.

¹¹² C. Prayger, 'The Negro Allusion in the Merchant of Venice', *American Notes and Queries*, 15, no. 4 (December 1976), pp. 50-52. This suggestion is much more convincing than that the 'Negro' is only introduced so that Shakespeare can make a witty pun on 'Moor' and 'more'. *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. J. Russell Brown (1964), p. 99n.

¹¹³ Appendix, Baptisms, nos. 14, 15, 53, Burials, no. 58; Methodology, pp. 64-5.

¹¹⁴ Appendix, Baptisms, nos. 5, 6, Burials, no. 4.

‘meretricula’, meaning prostitute, which is typical of the indiscriminate use of such terminology by indignant parish clerks for any mother of a bastard. There is no evidence of her having children with anyone else, however, so their relationship, which lasted for at least three years, may be one of the stable consensual unions, evinced by a string of illegitimate children, which have been identified as a feature of early modern society by social historians.¹¹⁵ Theirs is the only example where the mother of the children can be identified. A further case of an illegitimate child born with a black father is Katheren Pedro, ‘daughter of don Pedro a basterd Neger’ baptised at St. Andrew’s Plymouth in 1596¹¹⁶ Commenting on this case, Habib suggests that Katheren’s mother must have been black, given ‘the historical implausibility of a bonded black man... having the social empowerment and sexual agency to have an illicit sexual relationship with a white woman’.¹¹⁷ The example of Gylman Ivey and Anna Spencer, unknown to Habib, goes some way towards correcting this, quite beyond the fact that there is no evidence of these black men being ‘bonded’, or that having an illicit relationship with any woman was likely to be ‘socially empowering’.

In July 1626, a ‘child found in summerset yard’ was baptised at St Mary Le Strand, Westminster, and it was noted that ‘the father [was] supposed to bee a blackmore’.¹¹⁸ Somerset yard was a large stable yard to the west of Somerset House, which is situated between the Strand and the Thames, built by Protector Somerset but by 1626 in royal hands, and in the process of being remodelled by Indigo Jones for Henrietta Maria.

¹¹⁵ Adair, *Courtship, Illegitimacy and Marriage*, pp. 72, 75.

¹¹⁶ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 23. It is not entirely clear from the entry whether ‘basterd Neger’ is meant to describe Katheren or Don Pedro.

¹¹⁷ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 202.

¹¹⁸ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 50.

Whether the child was connected to a member of the Royal court, or was merely left in a public place it is impossible to know. It is not at all clear why it was presumed that the father, rather than the mother was black. Perhaps there were only known to be black men living in the area at that time, and no women, or perhaps the conclusion was based on early modern medical theory, which credited the male seed with determining a child's physical characteristics.¹¹⁹

Black mothers

In 26 of the 36 cases it was certainly the mother who was black. The father is named in 12 of these cases. It was important to establish the identity of the father in cases of illegitimate births because in his absence the parish was accountable for the maintenance of the child. To this end, midwives were enjoined to do their best to extract this information during the throes of labour.¹²⁰ It is for this reason that Habib's inferences that these black women were being sexually exploited by their masters, and that other men were recorded as fathers in order to save their master's reputations, are unsustainable. He writes:

the insistence of a paternal attribution of the birth, together with the concomitant qualification of the named attribution as "supposed" points to the simultaneous civic attempt to "normalize" what is patently the exposed consequence of the illicit sexual exploitation of a black women[sic] held in chattel bondage.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Galen wrote: 'the female semen is exceedingly weak and unable to advance to that state of motion in which it could impress an artistic form upon the fetus'. C. Galen, *Galen on the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*, tr. M. Tallmadge May (2 vols., Ithaca, 1968), II, p. 633. Samuel Purchas reported that some, including Herodotus, attributed dark skin to the 'blacknesse of the Parents sperme or seed': S. Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage. Or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in All Ages and Places Discovered, from Creation unto this Present* (1613), p. 545.

¹²⁰ A. McFarlane, 'Illegitimacy and Illegitimates in English History', in P. Laslett, K. Oosterveen and R.M. Smith (eds.), *Bastardy and its Comparative History* (1980), pp. 73-4.

¹²¹ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 200.

The parish authorities would be unlikely to allow these men to get away with relinquishing the financial responsibility for their children. In fact, we have some evidence of men being punished by the courts for impregnating black women. In January 1603, Roger Holgate, servant to Thomas Browne, a hatmaker, confessed to the Bridewell Court that ‘he hath committed with his fellowe a blackmoore in the house the abominable synne of whoredome’. The phrasing of this evokes the close quarters that servants kept, which inevitably led to such encounters. He was punished and, more importantly ‘kept till he put in sureties to discharge the cittie and parishe of the childe and children’. Two years later, the Court was pursuing another man guilty of a similar crime. On 9 January 1605, the Bridewell court clerk noted:

This day mr Briggs complained to the Govnrs pnte in corte that Murrey the beadle did not execute the warrant wch was delivred him for apprehending the hatmaker whoe *had gott the black more wth child* but did shoue the same to the [blackmore deleted] hatmaker whereupon he absented himself & is not to be found. Ordered by consent of the whole corte that yf Murrey bringe not in the said hatmaker that then he shall lose his place.¹²²

In this case, the hatmaker seems to have been warned by the beadle and absconded, but the fact remains that he was held responsible by the Bridewell court for fathering a child out of wedlock. In Poole in 1609-10, the town authorities received £1 15s from Francis Kent:

for releasinge him of his punishment, inflicted on him att the quarter sessions, the which he was adiudged unto for begetting a bastard on the Blackmore Elizabeth Ferdinando which was given towards the reparacon of the Church.¹²³

Again, Kent was judged guilty. These men we pursued and held to account for their misdemeanours, just as other men were in the many cases involving Englishwomen.

¹²² Appendix, Court Records, nos. 19, 20; above, p. 244.

¹²³ Appendix, Church and Municipal Accounts, no. 9. A similar case is that of John Edwards in 1606, see p. 249, below.

Habib equates these ‘base-born births’ with ‘the sexual oppression of black women’.¹²⁴ As Adair points out: ‘by some standards, all sexual relationships in this period (and perhaps all periods) were essentially exploitative’. Not all masters had sexual relationships with their servants, however. In fact, the majority of servants’ illegitimate children were begotten by fellow servants.¹²⁵ Indeed, only seven of the black mothers are explicitly described as servants, and three of these did not name a father for their children. In the evidence presented here, the only clear-cut case of a stereotypical exploitation of a black woman by her employer, or rather her employer’s son, was the case of Anthony Harwoode, buried in 1612, in Hayes parish, Bromley, ‘the Bastarde sonne of Leonard Harwoode, the younger, being the reputed father, begotten of the body of [] a Blacke a Moore, in the house of his father Leonard Harwood’.¹²⁶ Such an experience could equally have happened to an English servant girl.

There are examples where the father is of a more lowly station, as was more common in cases of illegitimacy.¹²⁷ In St. Keverne, Cornwall, ‘Constance the base child of a blackmore ye reputed father John the servant of John Langford’ was baptised in January 1605. In the parish of St Benet Fink, London, in June 1606, the baptism of ‘a man child called John, borne of a blackamore woman & supposed to be the sonne of John Edwardes, a bordder in the howse of William Conrado’s’ was recorded.¹²⁸ The mother, named Mary, was put to work in the Bridewell, after admitting that Edwards ‘had thuse

¹²⁴ Habib, *Black Lives*, pp. 96, 116, 134, 143.

¹²⁵ Adair, *Courtship, Illegitimacy and Marriage*, pp. 87-8.

¹²⁶ Appendix, Burials, no. 62.

¹²⁷ Adair, *Courtship, Illegitimacy and Marriage*, p. 88.

¹²⁸ Appendix, Baptisms, nos. 27, 31.

of her body twice' since he had arrived in the Conrado household at Whitsun 1605.¹²⁹

The father, John Edwards, was imprisoned for refusing to support the child, but later released after the case went to King's Bench.¹³⁰

There are three instances in the Plymouth baptism records where a black woman has a child fathered by a foreigner. Thus, two children were baptised at St. Andrews in 1594: 'Cristien, d. of Mary, a negro of John White's and the supposed daughter of John Kinge, a Dutchman', and 'Fortunatus, s. of a negro of Thomas Kegwin's the supposed father being a Portugall'. Forty years later, in January 1634, 'Elizabeth', 'base dau. of Angell, a Blackamore, the reputed ffather a ffleminge', was baptized.¹³¹ Habib has argued that these women were victims of 'sexual coercion' and that:

the naming of Portuguese, French and Dutch men as the possible perpetrators offered a measure of protection to the women's English captors, who could by that rhetorical deflection appear to be more humane.¹³²

However, in other cases in the same register, such as 'Richard, son of Marye a Neger, base, ye reputed father Rog Hoggett' in June 1603 and 'Margery base daughter of Katherine a Blackmoore the reputed ffather is Federicke Daniel/Damell?' in January 1635, English individuals were named as fathers.¹³³ Why then, would foreign fathers be cited unless they were truly suspect? Usually, when paternity was fabricated, the man named would be one deemed wealthy enough to support a child, not an anonymous and possibly now absent foreigner.

¹²⁹ Appendix, Court Records, no. 21.

¹³⁰ P.D. Halliday, *Habeas Corpus: from England to Empire* (2010), pp. 150-1.

¹³¹ Appendix, Baptisms, nos. 16, 19, 59.

¹³² Habib, *Black Lives*, pp. 200- 201. There are no records which cite Frenchmen as fathers.

¹³³ Appendix, Baptisms, nos. 29, 39.

Despite the pressure to name a father, 24 of the 36 children were entered in the register with no mention of a father, and in eleven of these the mother was not named either. With so little information given, there is little one can say now about these cases. One entry that stands out, however, is that recording the baptism of ‘Elizabeth, a negro child, born white, the mother a negro’ at St. Botolph Bishopsgate in 1586.¹³⁴ The clerk seems to find the fact that the child was born white surprising, or at least noteworthy, and almost to reinforce her parentage, despite her colour, he describes her as ‘a negro child’. Perhaps he, like Reginald Scot believed that ‘in truth a blacke Moore never faileth to beget black children’.¹³⁵ It may be that her skin would darken with time. Elizabeth is the only mixed race child in any of the records to be personally labelled in this way. All the others here are recorded as the children of ‘blackamores’ or ‘negros’, but are not specifically described as such themselves. This may suggest that they were perceived slightly differently from their parents.¹³⁶

There are two examples amongst our records of what Peter Laslett called ‘repeaters’, women who give birth to more than one illegitimate child.¹³⁷ In May 1593, ‘Helene, daughter of Cristian the negro servant to Richard Sheere, the supposed father beinge Cuthbert Holman, base’ was baptised at St. Andrew’s, Plymouth. In April of the following year ‘Cristian, daughter of Cristian, Richard Sheer’s Blackmoore’ was buried

¹³⁴ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 7.

¹³⁵ See above, pp. 243-4.

¹³⁶ Methodology, pp. 67-8.

¹³⁷ Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love*, p. 147; Adair, *Courtship, Illegitimacy and Marriage*, p. 71.

there.¹³⁸ This time, no father is named, and the child may have died before she could be baptized, or may have been an older child, baptized elsewhere with the name 'Christian'. The other 'repeater' was Grace, 'a negro' of Hatherleigh, Devon, who had two daughters, Rebecca and Horte/r, in 1606 and 1611. Both girls were baptised and buried in the church of St. John the Baptist, neither reaching the age of 2.¹³⁹

Rebecca and Horte/r were two of the six infants I have found who died before reaching the age of three. The others were Richard, son of Gylman Ivey and Anna Spencer, mentioned above, who was buried in Dyrham, Gloucestershire in 1583, aged 2; Ffaith (1637-1639), daughter of 'Mary a Blackmore', of St. Margaret's Topsham; Marye, daughter of 'Elysabeth a negro servant to Mrs Ayer', buried in Barnstaple some six weeks after her May 1605 baptism; and Thomas 'a base child Borne of a Blackmore', who lived for a mere ten days after his baptism in Exeter in 1632.¹⁴⁰ Infant mortality was of course not unusual in England at this time, and illegitimate children were more likely to die in the first years of life than others.¹⁴¹

Many of the stories glimpsed here are tragic and bitter. However, illegitimacy and infant mortality were common occurrences in English society, and were not dictated by the colour of the individual's skin. The cases of fornication and illegitimate children must be seen as part of a continuum that included the possibility of marriage and legitimate children. It was possible to survive these experiences, as can be seen by this baptism

¹³⁸ Appendix, Baptisms, no. 9, Burials, no. 29.

¹³⁹ Appendix, Baptisms, nos. 31, 37, Burials, nos. 57, 64.

¹⁴⁰ Appendix, Baptisms, nos. 6, 65, 28, 57, Burials 4, 93, 56, 89.

¹⁴¹ E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Davies, J. E. Oeppen and R.S. Schofield, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580-1837*, (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 219-23.

record of 18 August 1600:

Richard a Bastard, the sonne of Joane Marya a Black Moore & nowe the wyffe of Thomas Smythe Byllysmaker, was baptized.¹⁴²

It is not clear whether Thomas Smythe was his father or not, but his mother Joane Marya had attained what many women in England who bore illegitimate children aspired to: a husband.

Catholics, Jews and Muslims

Not all of the Africans in Britain at this time were members of the Protestant Church of England. While most of the evidence discussed here comes from the post-Reformation period, clearly the few Africans who came to England and Scotland in the early decades of the sixteenth century would have had a qualitatively different religious experience. There would probably have been rather less emphasis on the importance of religious instruction and individual engagement with the faith. For example, in the earliest known recorded baptism of an African in Britain, the African girl in question was christened almost immediately after her arrival in Scotland. We know that she was baptised on 11 December 1504, because there is an entry in the Scottish treasurer's accounts that records the 9 shillings 'que hen the More las was christinit giffen to be put in the candill[candle]'. She seems to have been baptised almost immediately after arriving, as this payment comes a month after her first mention in the records, when on 7 November there was a royal disbursement to cover the travel costs of the 'More lasses' from Queensferry to Inverkeithing.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Appendix, Baptisms, no. 20.

¹⁴³ Appendix, Household Accounts, nos. 32, 28.

Further, Africans living in the households of foreign merchants are likely to have subscribed to the same faiths as their masters. Thus, in June 1581, 'Ferdinando Negro' was listed under 'John Baptista Sampitoris, estr. [stranger]' and Hester, Susanna and Katherina Sampitoris, spinsters (presumably John's daughters?), in a list of 'Names of strangers that goe not to churche'. This information is repeated in the 1582-3 survey, in which Sir James Harvey, Alderman of Langborne Ward reported there was a man named 'Fardinando' in the house of 'John Baptista Sempitori, merchaunt' and 'Denisen', who 'goeth not to church'.¹⁴⁴ As his master, John Baptista San Vitores, was Spanish, it can be assumed that the whole household was Catholic and therefore chose not to attend the Protestant services at the local church.

A noticeable number of African individuals bore seemingly Hispanic first names, such as Maria, Bastien, Catellina, Diego /Diogo, Emmanuel, Domingo, Francisco, Ferdinando, Isabell, and Julyane. To these can be added Lazia Carbew, James Carreo, James Curren, James Diego, Bartholomew Ferdinando, Pedro Fernandes, Thomas Morino, Don Pedro and Symon Valencia. These names suggest that these individuals came to Britain via the Spanish and Portuguese speaking world, where they may have received Catholic baptism.

The Africans in the households of London's Portuguese *conversos* may have been exposed to Jewish practices. Although all Portuguese Jews in Portugal were baptized from 1497, and were thus, in theory, Catholics, and some in England, such as Dr. Hector Nunes conformed to the Church of England, many seem to have continued to practise the old faith in private. This is shown in a Chancery case brought against Nunes by Andrew

¹⁴⁴ Appendix, Tax Returns, nos. 7, 8; Chapter 2, pp. 131.

Broome and Mrs. Mary May in 1596. A key element of the case was to establish that Nunes and his kinsman Ferdinando Alvarez were Jews. Thomas Wilson, a former servant of Alvarez's, deposed that:

They did commonly towards Easter (as their blackmores which they kept told this deponent) light a great wax candle and sett the same in a basen with 4 white loaves about the candle in the myddest of a great roome in the said Fardynando's house.¹⁴⁵

C.J. Sisson has convincingly shown that this rite was Jewish, and it was considered relevant evidence at the trial.¹⁴⁶ Thus, despite the fact that Grace and Mary, two of Nunes's maids, were in fact buried at St. Olave Hart Street and that their master also received Christian burial at the nearby church of St. Dunstan's and All Saints, Stepney, their religious experience would have been quite different to that of most of the people discussed here.

Some of the Africans in Britain, especially those from North Africa, may have been Muslims. Two were described in the sources as 'moriscos'.¹⁴⁷ Seven of the 18 Moroccan captives taken by Captain Hart in 1627 were named Mahamet or Mahomet.¹⁴⁸ The turban that John Blanke is depicted as wearing in the Westminster Tournament Roll could be interpreted as signalling his religious identity.¹⁴⁹ Diogo, the African brought to England by an English pirate in 1614, had previously been converted by force to Islam by the pirate Camarit in Algiers, taking the Islamic name 'Tombos'.¹⁵⁰ However, in the religious climate of early modern Britain, little evidence of Islamic faith or practice can have survived.

¹⁴⁵ Appendix, Court Records, no. 15.

¹⁴⁶ C.J. Sisson, 'A colony of Jews in Shakespeare's London', *Essays and Studies*, 23 (1937), p. 45.

¹⁴⁷ Methodology, pp. 67-8.

¹⁴⁸ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 24.

¹⁴⁹ Illustration no. 1; Methodology, p. 44; Chapter 3, p. 198.

¹⁵⁰ Appendix, Court Records, no. 24. Chapter 2, p. 141 and Chapter 5, pp. 258-9.

Conclusion

Although Iago told Othello that Desdemona's desire for him over 'many proposed matches/Of her own clime complexion and degree' was unnatural, the real men and women of England, like the fictional Venetian, seem to have found living with the Africans natural enough.¹⁵¹ The concrete evidence of the parish registers and church courts does not hold up the conclusions of literary critics, drawn from plays and other literature. Africans were not 'the other', excluded from society because of the colour of their skin. Africans arriving in Britain were instructed in the Christian faith, and were welcomed into the community through the ritual of baptism. They lived and died in the eyes of the community, whether their sexual activity was sanctioned by marriage or not. The various records referring to them merely as 'the blackamoor', such as the record of 'Wylmm the son of Elizabeth, commonly called The Black Moore' baptised in the Kent church of St. Damian and St. Cosmos, Blean, in 1604, testifies to the fact that- at least outside London- an African may well have been the only African in the parish, or even the county.¹⁵² It was this fact that enabled them to integrate into the majority religious culture, along with the Christian teaching that we are all equal in the sight of God.

¹⁵¹ *Othello*, III. iii. 232.

¹⁵² Appendix, Baptisms, no. 26.

Chapter 5: The legal status of Africans in Britain

It is often assumed with hindsight that all Africans who came to Britain, even in the pre-colonial period, were slaves.¹ Certainly, many of them had been enslaved, in Europe or the Caribbean, at some point in their lives, as we saw in Chapter 2. However, it does not follow that they continued to be treated as such after their arrival in England. As we saw in Chapter 1, the status of Africans in early Virginia and other early British colonies was far from fixed.² Had slavery been an established institution in England, this would make no sense. Rather the institution is likely to have been seamlessly transferred across the Atlantic. The ambiguous status of Africans makes more sense in the context of English notions of liberty clashing with the practical requirements of colonial life, labour intensive crops and the example set by the Spanish in their colonies. We established in Chapter 3 that the conditions of employment of Africans in Britain were comparable with those of the native population. We learnt in Chapter 4 how they were accepted members of local parishes, in which they were baptized and married. In this chapter we will consider how they were viewed in the eyes of the law, and whether any of the classic symptoms of chattel slavery can be observed in their English experience.

While we have very few first-person accounts from Africans from this period, the thorough records of the Iberian Inquisition allow us some insight into how Africans perceived their status in England. Diogo, the African who had been taken to England by an English pirate in 1614, later reported to the Portuguese Inquisition that when he laid

¹ e.g. R. Ramdin, *Reimagining Britain: Five Hundred Years of Black and Asian History* (1999); G. Gerzina, *Black England: Life Before Emancipation* (1995); F.O. Shyllon, *Black Slaves in Britain* (1974); E. Scobie, *Black Britannia: a History of Blacks in Britain* (Chicago, 1972); Habib, *Black Lives*; Introduction, pp. 7-9.

² Chapter 1, pp. 117-119.

foot on English soil, 'he immediately became free, because in that Reign nobody is a slave.'³ In 1572, when the Mexican Inquisition was investigating William Collins, an English sailor left behind in Mexico after Hawkins's third voyage, he testified that:

In conversation with Juan Gelofo a negro slave owned by a certain Xinagues a miner the said slave had told him [Collins] that England must be a good country as there were no slaves there.

Collins replied that:

it was true, that they were all freemen in England; whereupon the negro remarked that... John Hawkins had been engaged in a cruise for slaves and was bringing them out here when he came to San Juan de Ulua and asked [Collins] how he accounted for that? ⁴

Collins's answer to this highly pertinent question is far from satisfactory. He merely asserts that Hawkins 'was a gentleman of quality and influence in England.'⁵ Not all Englishmen abroad were of the same 'quality' as Hawkins, however. Samuel Purchas recounts how diplomat Sir Thomas Roe ransomed two slaves in Persia in 1616. Roe was keen to make clear to the Persian king that he 'would not buy them as slaves', as 'Christians keepe no slaves', but 'onely pay their ransome and free them'. It was important that 'the king should not be ignorant I had more mercy than he, and that a Christian esteemed the life of a Moore above money'.⁶ In 1620, Captain Richard Jobson was offered some young female slaves for sale on the Gambia river. He told the merchant that the English were 'a people who did not deale in any such commodities, neither did we buy or sell one another, or any that had our own shapes'.⁷ This was truer in 1620 than

³Appendix, Court Records, no. 24; Chapter 2, p. 141.

⁴ Cambridge University Library, G.R.G Conway Collection, Add. MSS, 7231, f.157-8.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ S. Purchas, *Hakluytus Postumus, or Purchas his Pilgrims* (20 vols, Hakluyt Soc., extra ser., XIV-XXXIII, 1905-7), IV, pp. 373-374. M. Strachan, 'Roe, Sir Thomas (1581-1644)', *ODNB* [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/23943>, accessed 20 July 2011]

⁷ R. Jobson, *The Golden Trade: or, A Discovery of the River Gambia, and the Golden Trade of the*

it had been in the time of Hawkins: in fact, the English refrained from slave trading for most of the century after Hawkins' original forays.⁸ However, the key distinction to be drawn from Gelofe's incisive comment is the difference between English treatment of Africans abroad and the treatment of them in England. In 1587, William Harrison explained the situation:

As for slaves and bondmen, we have none; nay such is the privilege of our country by the especial grace of God and bounty of our princes, that if any come hither from other realms, so soon as they set foot on land they become as free in condition as their masters, whereby all note of servile bondage is utterly removed from them.⁹

If Harrison was correct, then no matter how much slaving the English were involved in abroad, once any slave of any origin set foot in England, he or she became free. This was certainly in keeping with the experience of Diogo. Furthermore it makes sense of an entry in the journal kept onboard the *Primrose*, one of ships in Drake's fleet, which landed in Santiago, Guinea Islands, in November 1586, where 700 men went ashore,

and took a Nigro to bee our guide which we brought owte of Inglande with us that dwelte before in this Iland & the generall promised this Nigro that if we could take the Spaniarde that the Nigro before was slave unto, that then the Spaniarde shoulde bee slave unto the Nigro.¹⁰

Were Africans held as slaves in England, this would have been a particularly cruel taunt, in which to be the slave of a slave was the worst fate Drake could contrive to punish his enemy. But it would make far more sense in a world in which it was the Spaniards who were known to enslave Africans, not the English. This is also the assumption Spanish

Aethiopians (1623), pp. 88-9.

⁸ P.E.H. Hair, 'Attitudes to Africans in English Primary Sources on Guinea up to 1650' *History in Africa*, 26 (1999), pp. 49, 52, 66-67; Chapter 1, p. 84.

⁹ W. Harrison, *Description of England*, ed. G. Edelen (1994), p. 118.

¹⁰ *Drake's West Indian Voyage, 1585-6*, ed. M. Frear Keeler (Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., CXLVIII, 1981), p. 189.

official Pedro de Arana made when he speculated on Drake's motives in 1586, and concluded that there must be an English settlement further up the American coast:

If there were not, and Francis Drake did not intend to proceed thither after disemboгуing, there would be no sense in his taking the pains he took to carry off launches and frigates, implements, locks and all sorts of hardware and negro laborers who in his country are free...¹¹

This train of thought only makes sense if we accept the precept that Africans, and indeed all slaves, became free when they set foot on English soil. Thus England's reputation abroad accorded with Harrison's assertion.

The same ideological division between freedom at home and slavery abroad was in evidence in contemporary France and the Netherlands, both, like England, Northern European states with little initial involvement in slavery on the scale of the Iberian powers, and with well-developed rhetorics of freedom. In a passage startlingly similar to William Harrison's, Francois de Belleforest wrote in his *L'Histoire Universelle du Monde* (1570):

The custom is such that not only the French, but foreigners arriving in French ports and crying 'France et liberté!' are beyond the power of those that possess them; [their owners] lose the price of the sale and the service of the slave, if the slave refuses to serve them.¹²

This principle was reiterated by Antoine Loisel, who when listing customary French legal maxims in his *Institutes coutumieres* (1608), listed a few entries below the more famous: 'Qui veut le Roi, si veut la Loi' [The King's word is law'], the precept: 'All persons are

¹¹ *Further English Voyages to Spanish America, 1583-1594*, ed. I.A. Wright (Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser. XCIX, 1949), pp. 188-9.

¹² F. De Belleforest, *L'Histoire Universelle du Monde* (1570), p. 550, cited in S. Peabody, *There are no Slaves in France: The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Regime* (New York and Oxford, 1996), p. 29.

free in this kingdom; and as soon as a slave has arrived at the borders of this place, being baptized, is freed.’¹³ This principle was demonstrated in 1571, when a Norman slave merchant arrived in Bordeaux with a cargo of slaves. When he attempted to sell them, he was arrested, and the Parlement of Guyenne freed the slaves because ‘France, the mother of liberty, doesn’t permit any slaves.’¹⁴ Again, when a Spanish galley ran aground near Calais in the time of Henri III (1574-1589), the 2,000 or 3,000 galley slaves on board were sent to the king at Chartres:

Seeing that the Turcs, Moors and Barbarians were taken as slaves by Spain by the hazard of war, and by the same chance they arrived in France, where only criminals are used as galley slaves, it was held that they acquired their liberty.

The slaves were sent to Constantinople, via Marseille, with an ecu apiece.¹⁵ A similar decision was made in Zeeland in 1596. In that year, a Dutch pirate named Pieter van der Hagen attempted to bring ashore 130 black slaves he had captured from a Portuguese ship. The burgomaster of Middelburg held that these individuals could not be kept or sold as slaves, and so they were freed.¹⁶

Back in England, one of the first test cases of the theory that coming to England granted freedom was that of African Pero Alvarez. On 13 March 1490, King João II of Portugal issued a decree in which he confirmed that the manumission granted to Alvarez by King

¹³ The French reads: ‘Tout personnes sont franchises en ce royaume: et sitost q’un esclave ce atteinit les marches d’icelui, se faisant baptizer, est affranchi.’: Antoine Loisel, *Institutes coutumieres* (Paris, 1608), p. 1.

¹⁴ Peabody, ‘*There Are No Slaves in France*’, pp. 12, 29.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁶ A.H. Huussen, ‘The Dutch Constitution of 1798 and the Problem of Slavery’, *The Legal History Review*, 67, no. 3-4 (March 1999), p. 104; A. Blakely, *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society* (1994), p. 4; D. Hondius, ‘Black Africans in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam’, in K.J.P. Lowe (ed.) *Sub-Saharan Africa and Renaissance and Reformation Europe: New Findings and New Perspectives*, special issue of *Renaissance and Reformation*, 31, no.2 (Toronto, Spring 2008), pp. 89-108; D. Hondius, ‘Blacks in Early Modern Europe: New Research from the Netherlands’ in *Black Europe and the African Diaspora*, ed. D. Clark Hine and T. Keaton (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), pp. 29-47; Voyages Database. 2009. *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*. [http://www.slavevoyages.org, accessed 21 March 2011]: Voyage 46482.

Henry VII of England was also valid in Portugal, and thus Alvarez was permitted to live the life of a freedman.¹⁷ This document suggests that Henry VII had chosen to set Alvarez free while he was in England, reinforcing the idea that setting foot on English soil made one free.

The legal position in Britain

Neither the English nor the Scottish legislatures ever issued a law code to delineate the status of African slaves in contrast to the Portuguese (Ordenações Manuelinas, 1481-1514), the Dutch Republic (East India Ordinances, 1622 onwards), France (Code Noir, 1685); and Virginia in the 1670s.¹⁸ Indeed the gap between the laws delineating the status of Africans in the colonial legislatures and the absence of them in English and Scottish law resulted in increasing difficulties for 'West Indian' slaveowners who attempted to assert their rights over slaves purchased in the colonies but subsequently brought to Britain.¹⁹

The only law that was passed relating to slavery in our period was an Act of Parliament of 1547, which attempted to introduce slavery as a punishment for vagrancy: a regulation which clearly aimed primarily at enslaving Englishmen, not Africans.²⁰ It specified that masters might: 'cause the said slave to worke by beateinge, cheyninge or otherwise in such

¹⁷ G. Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery* (Madrid, 2008), p. 96; Pedro A. d'Azevedo, 'Os Escravos', *Arquivo Historico Portuguez*, 1 (1903), p. 300, doc. III (transcription of Chancellaria de D. João II, Liv. xvi, fl. 61).

¹⁸ A.C. de C.M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441-1555* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 113-133; J. Fox, "'For good and sufficient reasons': An examination of early Dutch East India Company Ordinances on Slaves and Slavery", in A. Reid (ed.), *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in South East Asia* (1983), pp. 246-262; Peabody, *There Are No Slaves in France*, p. 11; A. Taylor, *American Colonies: the Settling of North America* (2001), pp. 155-156, 213.

¹⁹ For a summary see: M. Kaufmann, 'Slavery at English Common Law' and 'The Somerset Case' in *Encyclopaedia of Blacks in European Culture*, ed. E. Martone (2 vols., Westport, CT, 2009), I, 200-203, II, 504-5.

²⁰ D. MacCulloch, 'Bondmen Under the Tudors' in C. Cross, D.M. Loades and J.J. Scarisbrick ed., *Law and Government Under the Tudors: Essays Presented to Sir Geoffrey Elton* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 99.

worke and labor how vyle so ever it be' and 'lease, sell or bequeath the slave like any other movable goodes or catells'. However the enslavement was only to last for 2 years.

In the event, the act was never enforced and was in fact repealed in 1549.²¹ This was perhaps to the chagrin of William Harrison, who while praising the fact that all men in England were free, also expressed the view that:

As in theft therefore, so in adultery and whoredom, I would wish the parties trespassant to be made bond or slaves unto those that received the injury, to sell and give wherever they listed, or to be condemned to the galleys.²²

There was only one sort of slavery recognized under English law, and that was villeinage.

In *Somerset's Case* (1772), Francis Hargrave argued that the retention of villein status in English law barred the introduction of a new slavery:

The law of England then excludes *every slavery not commencing in England, every slavery though commencing there not being antient and immemorial*. Villenage is the only slavery which can possibly answer to such a description, and That has been long expired by the deaths and emancipations of all those who were the objects of it. Consequently there is now no slavery, which can be lawful in England, until the Legislature shall interpose its authority to make it so.²³

As Holt had concluded in 1701: 'one may be a villein in England, but not a slave'.²⁴ A villein, whether *regardant* (bound to his Lord) or *in gross* (bound to the Manor), had inherited his dependent status from his ancestors, and so the status was quite different from the 'new slavery' of the Americas. By definition, an African could not be a villein.

²¹ T.D. Morris, "'Villeinage... As It Existed in England, Reflects but Little Light on Our Subject:": The Problem of the "Sources" of Southern Slave Law', *The American Journal of Legal History*, 32, no. 2 (April, 1988), p. 105; C.S.L. Davies, 'Slavery and Protector Somerset; The Vagrancy Act of 1547', *The Economic History Review*, new ser., 19, no. 3 (1966), p. 534.

²² W. Harrison, *Description of England*, ed. G. Edelen (1994), p. 190.

²³ F. Hargrave, *An Argument in the Case of James Sommersett a Negro: Wherein it is Attempted to Demonstrate the Present Unlawfulness of Domestic Slavery in England: to which is Prefixed a State of the Case* (London, 1772), p. 45. See also: A. Savine, 'Bondmen Under the Tudors', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 17 (1903), p. 252.

²⁴ P. D. Halliday, 'Holt, Sir John (1642–1710)', *ODNB*

[<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/13611>, accessed 26 September 2011]

While in legal theory villeinage may have remained, the villeins themselves were in short supply by the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1485 there had been at least 400 manors in 30 English counties and in Wales that retained serfs. By the 1560s there were 100 manors in 21 English counties and in Wales that still retained serfs. The last known reference to villein status is in the case of *Pigg v. Caley* in East Anglia in 1634.²⁵ In Scotland, another form of servitude was known: colliers and salters were bound to serve for life.²⁶ It was never suggested that an African might be a villein or a collier or salter, but these legally recognized conditions provide an interesting point of comparison when we look at the treatment of Africans. They also seem to have barred legal minds from thinking of slavery outside the villeinage context. For example, the passage from Sir Edward Coke's *Institutes of the Laws of England* (1628) which is often quoted by historians of colonial slavery to exemplify the British justification of slavery is in fact buried in a section entitled 'Of Villeinage', in a book that is actually a commentary on Littleton's 15th-century treatise on tenures, which copiously quotes authorities such as Bracton (d.1268).²⁷ Coke wrote:

This is assured, that Bondage or Servitude was first inflicted for dishonouring of parents: for Cham the father of Canaan...seeing the nakedness of his father Noah,

²⁵ MacCulloch, 'Bondmen Under the Tudors', pp. 94, 109.

²⁶ John Wedderburn cited this in his case against Joseph Knight in 1778: 'colliers and salters are a very striking [striking] instance of persons bound to perpetual service in a much more disagreeable employment.' J.W. Cairns, 'Slavery and the Roman Law of Evidence in Eighteenth-Century Scotland' in Burrows, Andrew, and Lord Rodger of Earlsferry (eds) *Mapping the Law: Essays in Memory of Peter Birks* (Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 613. For a summary of Knight vs. Wedderburn, the papers relating to which are preserved in The National Archives of Scotland: CS235/K/2/2, see J. W. Cairns, 'Knight, Joseph (b. c.1753)', *ODNB* [<http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/93749>, accessed 23 May 2011]

²⁷ W.D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (1968), p. 54; R. Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery, from the Baroque to the Modern 1492-1800* (1997), p. 236; K.O. Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630-1641: The Other Puritan Colony* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 178. Another author, John Cowell, praises Bracton in 1607 as 'express[ing] the nature of our villeinage something aptly'. John Cowell, *The Interpreter: or Book Containing the Signification of Words* (1607) in I. Lancashire (ed.), *Lexicons of Early Modern English* (University of Toronto Library and University of Toronto Press, 2006), [[leme.library.utoronto.ca/lexicon/entry.cfm?ent=351-759](http://eme.library.utoronto.ca/lexicon/entry.cfm?ent=351-759), accessed 19 April 2007]

and shewing it in derision to his Brethren, was therefore punished in his Sonne Canaan with Bondage.²⁸

This simply retells the story from Genesis 9:22, and given the context, it seems clear that Coke is giving a biblical explanation for the existence of villeinage in English society. He is not commenting on African slavery.²⁹ Thus it was the law's liking for precedent that helped to prevent any new slavery laws being created.

There is only one known case relating to a foreign slave in England, rather than to a villein before 1677. The details of the Cartwright case of 1569 only survive in a brief reference during the Star Chamber trial of John Lilburne in 1637, where it was recounted that:

in the Eleventh of Elizabeth, one Cartwright brought a slave from Russia, and would scourge him, for which he was questioned; and it was resolved that England has too pure an Air for Slaves to breathe in.³⁰

Although this relates to the case of a Russian rather than an African slave, it clearly states that the Russian slave, though previously a slave, was not recognized as such in England or in English law. The treatment of this slave is in concordance with the comments of William Harrison and the experience of Diogo in 1614. Furthermore it was cited as legal precedent by later authorities. In 1706, Lord Chief Justice Holt said 'as soon as a Negro

²⁸ E. Coke, *The First Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England, or, A Commentary vpon Littleton* (1628), Book 2, Chapter 11, Section 172, p. 116.

²⁹ The story of Ham's curse was interpreted as an explanation for African slavery elsewhere. See George Best, *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie, for the Finding of a Passage to Cathaya, by the Northveast* (Henry Bynnyman, 1578), f. 4; Jordan, *White Over Black*, pp. 17-19; B. Braude, 'The sons of Noah and the construction of ethnic and geographical identities in the medieval and early modern periods', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 54, no. 1 (1997), p. 119; P. Fryer, *Staying Power: the History of Black People in Britain* (1984), p. 143.

³⁰ J. Rushworth, *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State* (2 vols., 1680), II, 468.

comes into England, he becomes free'.³¹ Sir William Blackstone wrote in 1765 that 'a slave or Negro, the instant he lands in England, becomes a freeman'.³² In 1772, Francis Hargrave, one of the advocates defending James Sommersett cited the case and commented: 'the plain inference from it is, that the slave was become free by his arrival in England'.³³ In a recent survey of the legal status of slavery in England, George Van Cleve summarises:

There is little if any evidence that classical chattel slavery existed in England during the period 1540–1771: there were no statutes that permitted or endorsed such slavery in England based on status or race, and there was no reported English case that unequivocally endorsed heritable, perpetual chattel slavery in England based on status or race.³⁴

What he says of English legislation and case law is equally true of Scotland. It is clear then that in the eyes of the law, there were never slaves in Britain.

However, Van Cleve then goes on to argue that despite the lack of legal slavery in Britain:

the social reality was that, during most of those same two centuries, a form of 'near slavery', mostly involving blacks, with many incidents of chattel slavery, such as sales, imprisonment or forcible shipment abroad for discipline or punishment, collaring, chaining, and wageless compelled perpetual service, did exist in England.

In a footnote, Van Cleve adds sale in public markets and the denial of baptism to his list

³¹ Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 114.

³² Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (Oxford, 1786), 10th edition, Bk. I, p. 424.

³³ F. Hargrave, *An Argument in the Case of James Sommersett a Negro: Wherein it is Attempted to Demonstrate the Present Unlawfulness of Domestic Slavery in England: to which is Prefixed a State of the Case* (London, 1772), p. 51.

³⁴ G. Van Cleve, 'Somerset's Case and its antecedents in Imperial perspective', *Law and History Review*, 24, no. 3 (Fall 2006), pp. 608-9.

of ‘incidents’ of chattel slavery that were in evidence in England during this period.³⁵ Both Imtiaz Habib and Gustav Ungerer argue that the absence of a strict legal code delineating the status of Africans in England allowed ‘slaveowners’ to exploit them behind closed doors. Ungerer writes that: ‘as long as the Africans were granted no legal status...the owners enjoyed the freedom of an unregulated market’.³⁶ Habib refers to the ‘unspoken chattel bondage’ of Africans in England.³⁷ Let us now look more closely at the evidence for the period 1500-1640 to see if we can spot any of these ‘incidents’ of chattel slavery occurring.

Language

First, let us look at the language used to describe Africans. Of over 350 references of which I am aware to Africans living in Britain 1500-1640, only three use the word ‘slave’. These were Catalina de Cordones, Katherine of Aragon’s maid of honour, described as ‘esclava que fue’; Jacques Francis, who is described as ‘slave’ to the Venetian Piero Paulo Corsi in Southampton in 1546-8 and the ‘certain black slaves’ brought to England in 1555 by John Lok.³⁸

The phrase used by Katherine of Aragon to describe her maid of honour Catalina de Cardones is quite revealing: ‘exclava que fue’ literally means ‘slave that was’. That is, she had formerly been a slave, but was not at time of writing, that is in 1509. This reference therefore might support the hypothesis that Africans, even if previously

³⁵ Van Cleve, ‘Somerset’s Case and its antecedents’, p. 608, n. 24.

³⁶ Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery*, pp. 70-1.

³⁷ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 76.

³⁸ Appendix, Household Accounts, no. 85, Court Records, no. 2; Hakluyt, VI, 176, 216-9.

enslaved, did not remain so after their arrival in England.

Jacques Francis is described by Anthony de Nicholao Rimero of Venice as a ‘slave’ to Piero Paulo Corsi, a Venetian salvage operator based in Southampton. However Jacques asserts, according to John Tyrart, the court interpreter, that he is ‘famulus’ to Corsi.³⁹ ‘famulus’ is an interesting word for Tyrart to have used, meaning a servant or attendant, rather than a slave (servus).⁴⁰ That it was used in this way in 16th-century English courts is proven by the fact that mariners John Tonnes and Humphrey Ffones are both described as ‘famulus Johannes Hawkins’ [sic] when they give evidence in a case of 1568.⁴¹ Thus Jacques, while perceived as a slave by an Italian, appears to describe himself as a servant, and equally importantly, is recognised as such by an English court.

Robert Gainsh’s description of the ‘certain blacke slaves’ brought to England by John Lok in early 1555 is quoted regularly in the secondary literature, and is often the only evidence cited in an argument that Africans in Britain were slaves from the beginning. However, it becomes clear from merchant William Towerson’s accounts of his voyages to Guinea later in 1555 and 1556 and other evidence which we examined in Chapter 2, that these men were not used as slaves, but rather as interpreters and trade factors, taught

³⁹ Appendix, Court Records, no. 1: ‘Jaques Frauncys famulus ut asseruit Petri Paulo cum quo habitavit circiter duos annos et antea in Insula de Gynney ubi natus erat etate xxti annorum aut circiter libere ut dicit condicionis testis dicit ad interpretacionem Johannis Tyrart’. G. Ungerer, ‘Recovering a Black African’s Voice in an English Lawsuit: Jacques Francis and the Salvage Operations of the Mary Rose and the Sancta Maria and Sanctus Edwardus, 1545-ca 1550’, *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 17 (Madison, NJ, 2005), p. 261, suggests that Frances’s statements were made in the ‘fala de Guiné’, the Africanized form of Portuguese.

⁴⁰ C.T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (1966 ed.), p. 725; R.E. Latham, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, Vol. I: A-L (1975), p. 905. Ungerer, ‘Recovering a Black African’s Voice in an English Lawsuit’, p. 260, confuses this issue by translating ‘famulus’ as ‘slave member of a household’.

⁴¹ TNA, SP 12/53

English in London for a few years, and then all returned to their homes on the Guinea coast by 1562.⁴²

Of the 124 individual Africans known to have had a master or mistress, only 18 are described in the records with possessive words such as ‘of’ or ‘my’ or ‘his’. As a man or woman could just as well talk in this way of his servant as of his slave, this does not seem to be concrete enough evidence of slavery. Two records use the word ‘belonging’, one to describe a ‘blakmore belonging to Mr. John Davies’ and the other ‘Anna a negro belonging to Mr Burnet’.⁴³ However, as we have seen, they cannot have belonged to their masters in any legal sense, and at the time, the word ‘belong’ was not used exclusively to denote property, and could merely convey membership of a household. Thus, in the Returns of Aliens, we find a reference to: ‘Peter Martynne, Spanyarde, who belongith to the Spanishe Ambassador’, and in Shakespeare’s *Twelfth Night*, Duke Orsino addresses the Lady Olivia’s servants: ‘Belong you to the Lady Oliuia, friends?’, and the Clown answers: ‘Ay, sir; we are some of her trappings’.⁴⁴

By contrast, many more are specifically referred to as ‘servants’. Some are described as ‘tenants’ or ‘borders’. As we saw in Chapter 3, the majority of Africans are not described in terms of any kind of master at all.⁴⁵ Judging from vocabulary alone therefore, it seems the majority of the Africans living in England at this time were not called slaves. But were they treated as such?

⁴² Hakluyt, VI, 176; Introduction, p. 9; Chapter 2, pp. 134-6.

⁴³ Appendix, Burials, no. 41; Tax Returns, nos. 11. 18.

⁴⁴ *Twelfth Night*, V. i. 9; *Returns of Aliens*, III, p. 385. See ‘belonging, vbl, n.’, *OED* [<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50020071>, accessed 25 April 2007]

⁴⁵ Chapter 3, p. 201.

Buying and selling

One of the most basic indicators that someone is being treated as a slave is if he or she is bought and sold like any other piece of property. This is one of the incidents of chattel slavery that Van Cleve mentions. Sales of 'Negroes' were advertised frequently in 18th-century newspapers.⁴⁶ In 1984, Peter Fryer stated: 'There is no evidence of black people being bought and sold in this country until 1621'.⁴⁷ The evidence he cites comes from the 1621 compensation claim of merchant William Bragge to 'the Honourable Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, and all the Company of the East India and Sommer Islands'.⁴⁸ By failing to return to and examine closely the original document and its context, this incident has been entirely misinterpreted, both in terms of what sort of 'black people' are meant, and whether they were in fact bought or sold. These 'blacks', described in the text as 'negroes or Indian people' have understandably been misidentified as Asian, or East Indians by Fryer and Habib.⁴⁹ As Habib puts it, 'Since it is the EIC that is named here- not the Virginia Company- these are probably East Indians and not native Americans'. However, on closer examination, it seems that Bragge has just returned from Bermuda (known at the time as 'Somers Island'), not the East Indies, so the 13 are actually more likely to be Africans as Bermuda's original inhabitants had been enslaved or driven away by the Spaniards by the time the English got there; and besides, Bragge tells us that 'Mr. Powell

⁴⁶ Fryer, *Staying Power*, pp. 58-62. There were similar notices in the Scottish press. See Cairns 'Slavery and the Roman Law of Evidence', p. 606, n.42.

⁴⁷ Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 8.

⁴⁸ 'Petition of William Bragge to the Honourable Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, and all the Company of the East India and Sommer Islands', BL, Royal MS, 17 B. X; W. Pinkerton, 'Cats, Dogs and Negroes as Articles of Commerce' *Notes and Queries*, 3rd ser. II (1862), pp. 345-6.

⁴⁹ Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 462, n. 18; I. Habib, 'Indians in Shakespeare's England as "the First-Fruits of India": Colonial Effacement and Postcolonial Reinscription', *Journal of Narrative Theory*, 36, no. 1 (Winter 2006), p. 10. See also Shyllon, *Black People in Britain*, pp. 6-7.

brought them into that countrey'.⁵⁰ This was most likely Captain John Powell, a privateer employed by the Earl of Warwick. In 1617, Robert Rich had written that Bermuda had 'good store of neggars which Mr. Powell brought from the West Indies'.⁵¹ Bragge's petition does not record the sale of these Africans. In fact, as Pinkerton remarked 'it shows the strong anti-slavery feeling, founded on pure Christian principles, of a British merchant'. As we saw in Chapter 4, Bragge believed that these individuals were potential converts to Christianity, and protested: 'for Estimacion of theis poore Soules, they are not to be vallewed at anie price.' He asks that: 'I may not receeve Rewards either of Gold or Silver for such as are Created after the Image, Similitude, and Likenesse of God, although they are worth unto you 1000lb and above, I will not aske 000.'⁵² This is a fascinating account- Bragge ends by writing the amount due to him for the 'Negroes or Indians' as '0l 0s 0d'. Thus, he is clearly not selling them to the East India Company. However, he assumes the Company will view them in commercial terms. Thus, although others may not scruple to sell these Africans, the market they had a value in was Bermuda, not England.

Since Fryer wrote, however, a few more cases which refer to attempted sales of Africans in England have emerged from the archive. I say 'attempted' because none of these

⁵⁰ Pinkerton identifies that Bragge was in Bermuda. Elsewhere in the petition, Bragge asks for payment for 20 dogs who 'ridd away and devoured all the Rats on that Iland'. Bermuda's crops at this time were under serious threat from rats. See W.R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* (3 vols., New York, 1951), II, 263-265; Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*, p. 225. For more on John Powell, see L.M. Heywood and J.K. Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660* (2007), pp. 27-28.

⁵¹ V. Bernhard, 'Beyond the Chesapeake: The contrasting status of Blacks in Bermuda, 1616-1663', *Journal of Southern History*, 54 (1988), p. 547.

⁵² Pinkerton, 'Cats, Dogs and Negroes as Articles of Commerce', pp. 345-6; 'Petition of William Bragge to the Honourable Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, and all the Company of the East India and Sommer Islands' BL, Royal MS, 17 B. X; Chapter 4, pp. 226.

transactions was ultimately successful. When Filippo Cini tried to sell his servant Maria Moriana to a Genoese merchant for £20 in Southampton in the 1470s, she protested her freedom. Not to be thwarted, Cini then took her to a notary, and made her sign a document she was unable to read, which certified that she owed him £20. He then had her thrown into prison for this debt. She then petitioned the Lord Chancellor, asking him to redress this gross injustice.⁵³ It seems clear that in this case, the Italian merchant Cini assumed he could treat Maria as a slave, as he could at home in Italy, but she was aware that he could not. This clash of jurisdictions is echoed in the other two cases we will examine.

In 1548, Anthony de Nicholao Rimero, the Venetian sailor working in Southampton mentioned above, testified that ‘James Fraunces ys a...slave to the sayd peter paulo who hath in this deponentes presens offeryd hym to sell to any that wold have bought hym’.⁵⁴ No one bought Jacques that day, and it seems that the Venetian’s perception of this man as a slave was not shared by the court, Jacques himself, or indeed the population of Southampton.

A more detailed case of an attempted sale of an African as a slave was described when, on 24 November 1587, Dr. Hector Nunes told Her Majesty’s Court of Requests that:

one John Lax of Fowey in your highness’s county of Cornwall, maryner, havinge an Ethiopian Negar lately brought from the porte of Santa Domingo in Nova Spayne beyond the seas in or about the month of October nowe last past came unto

⁵³ TNA C1/148/67; Her ethnic identity remains uncertain, as it is not specified in the original document. Ruddock describes her as ‘an Italian servant’: A. Ruddock, *Italian merchants and shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600* (Southampton, 1951), p. 127. Ungerer describes her as ‘Moorish’: Ungerer, ‘Recovering a Black African’s Voice in an English Lawsuit’, p. 261. See Chapter 3, p. 130, n. 40.

⁵⁴ This is the same Jacques Frances as above, p. 12. The spelling of his name varies throughout the document. Appendix, Court Records, no. 2.

the sayde supplyant and offered to sell the same Ethiopian unto your said supplyant as is used in Spayne and Portugal and other Countries beyond the seas. And the said supplyant not knowing the lawes and customes of this your realme of England, but thinking the lawes in that behalfe here as in his owne countrie (in Portingall) where he was born, bargained with the said John Lax and bought the same Ethiopian and for hym payed unto the said John Lax the somme of foure poundes and ten shillings.

However, the Ethiopian ‘utterly refuseth to tarry and serve’ Nunes

during his life according to the bargain made by the said John Lax with your said supplyant, so that your said supplyant is likely to lose both the sayde Ethiopian and also his four poundes, tenn shillings.

Nunes admits that he has:

no remedie...by the course of the Common Law of this realme eyther to compell the said Ethiopian to serve him duringe his life or to recover his four pounds ten shillings again of the said John Lax.

The claim that a case was not litigable at common law was frequently employed in the Court of Requests, but in this case does not seem a mere legal fiction. Nunes’s plea that John Lax be summoned before the court would appear to be because only in that tribunal did he have any hope of regaining his money. He does not ask the court to take action against the Ethiopian. Unfortunately the answer to his plea does not survive. Nunes claims that ‘beinge a foreigner and borne out of this realme’ he ‘was ignorant of the lawes therein’.⁵⁵ He was born in Évora, Portugal in 1520.⁵⁶ However Nunes had been resident in Mark Lane, in the parish of St. Olave, Hart Street, London since 1549.⁵⁷ He had developed an extensive overseas trade network, which he used to receive intelligence that he sent to Walsingham and Burghley, as well as for profit.⁵⁸ It seems unlikely that he was quite as ignorant as he claimed. However, John Lax had no such excuse. If he had

⁵⁵ Appendix, Court Records, no. 10. This ‘Ethiopian Negar’ may not have actually been from Ethiopia. See Methodology, pp. 58-60.

⁵⁶ Évora had a substantial black population. See Chapter 1, p. 74.

⁵⁷ E. Samuel, ‘Nunes, Hector (1520–1591)’, *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40773>, accessed 24 January 2007]

⁵⁸ *CSPS*, 1587-1603, p. 221.

brought the Ethiopian from Santo Domingo, it seems likely that he had been involved in Drake's raid of the port in 1586, during which many Africans had run away from their Spanish masters to join the English.⁵⁹ Why did the Cornishman travel to London to seek out Nunes as a buyer? Perhaps it was because Nunes was a foreigner, and was known to already have Africans in his household.⁶⁰ The price of £4 10 shillings was equivalent to approximately one year's wages for a servant, and is thus extremely low for a lifetime's service. Perhaps both Nunes and Lax were aware there was no legal support for their deal, and Nunes used this knowledge to bargain for a cheap price.⁶¹

It is no coincidence that all these cases of attempted sale involve foreigners. Examined closely, the evidence of the documents concerned actually leads one to the conclusion that these cases were the exceptions that proved the rule. In Southampton, no sales were actually carried out, while Nunes found to his cost that he had been conned into buying a man whom he could not legally enslave.

What is perhaps more revealing are the cases where the sale of Africans was not attempted in England. We learnt in Chapter 2 of two cases when large numbers of Africans arrived in British ports, but were transported away again as soon as possible. Thus, when John Lovell brought 50 or 60 unsold Africans back to Plymouth in September 1567, Hawkins took them with him on his third voyage a few weeks' later.⁶² There was never any question of trying to sell them in England. Indeed, all of Hawkins'

⁵⁹ D.B. Quinn, 'Turks, Moors, Blacks and Others in Drake's West Indian Voyage', in *Explorers and Colonies: America 1500-1625*, essays by D.B. Quinn (1990), pp. 197-204.

⁶⁰ Appendix, Burials, nos. 12, 16.

⁶¹ See p. 285 below for cost of a slave in Spain.

⁶² Appendix, Court Records no. 4. This case is discussed at length in Chapter 2, pp. 145-6.

ventures envisaged the sale of Africans in the West Indies rather than in England. Again, when 135 Africans arrived in Bristol aboard the *Charles* in 1590, the Mayor and his council shipped them back to Spain as fast as they could, with an impressively swift seven-day turnaround. They were viewed as a financial burden, needing to be fed and housed and to be gotten rid of as soon as possible, not as commodities to be sold to the highest bidder in the town square.⁶³ When, in 1591, Africans were captured from a Portuguese ship near Dominica, it was Puerto Rico that the English looked to as a potential market.⁶⁴ As John Twitt of Harewich, corporal in the *Golden Dragon* under Christopher Newport reported:

Wee tooke a Portugall ship of Lisbon of 300 tuns, which came from Guinie, and was bound for Cartagena, wherein were 300 Negros young and olde. Which ship we tooke along with us to S. Juan de Puerto rico...we set the Portugall merchant aland...for that he hoped to helpe us to some money for his Negros there, but he falsified his worde with us, so that...we landed the Negros and sunke their ship.⁶⁵

While these English were not above attempting to sell the Africans, with the help of the Portuguese merchant in Puerto Rico, no attempt was made to bring them back to England to sell. Surely this was because there was no market for them there. This is confirmed by the fact that when Caspar Van Senden and Sir Thomas Sherley dreamed up the idea of petitioning Elizabeth I for a monopoly on ‘blackamores and negars’, they envisaged transporting them to Lisbon, not attempting to sell them in England.⁶⁶ In the 17th century, when privateers captured Africans aboard Spanish ships, they took them to the new colonies, not to England.⁶⁷

⁶³ Appendix, Diaries and Letters, no. 8; Chapter 2, p. 152.

⁶⁴ *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, ed. Donnan, I, 11.

⁶⁵ Hakluyt, X, 184-5.

⁶⁶ ; M. Kaufmann, ‘Caspar Van Senden, Sir Thomas Sherley and the “Blackamoor” project’, *Historical Research*, 81, no.212 (May 2008), pp. 366-371.

⁶⁷ Chapter 1, pp. 115-116.

Furthermore, if Africans were considered to be property in England, they would have been referred to as such in wills. Instead, in the few cases where they are mentioned in wills, it is as recipients of legacies.⁶⁸ As no slave could hold property in his or her own right, it would be pointless to leave a legacy to a slave. Yet, as we saw in Chapter 3, in 1570, Nicholas Witchalse left his black servant Anthony 5 shillings, in 1600, William Offlie left his black maid £10, and in 1612 Maria Groce left her black maid Joane £3. One black woman, far from *being* property, actually *owned* property: Cattelena of Almondsbury, Gloucestershire, had over £6 worth of property at her death in 1625.⁶⁹ Simply, none of the evidence relating to patterns of employment suggests that Africans functioned as slaves in English society.

Wages and Hereditary service

Van Cleve also asserts that Africans were subjected to ‘wageless compelled perpetual service’. However, as we saw in Chapter 3, this was clearly not the case. Hector Nunes was unable to compell the ‘Ethiopian Negar’, who ‘refused to tarry and serve him’. Various individuals served more than one master in their lifetimes, such as Mary Phyllis, who moved from the household of Mrs Barker to that of Millicent Porter. Furthermore, the will of Nicholas Witchalse specifies that Anthony was to be given 5 shillings ‘so that he remaine’ with his wife, and the larger sum of 5 marks should he leave the household.⁷⁰

This is hardly compulsion: Anthony is encouraged to stay with the family, but he is also

⁶⁸ Steven Gunn has recently referred me to a will of 1537 in which a Spaniard, Diego Sanchez, ordained that ‘Johan my sclave’ should serve his wife for two years after his death: *London Consistory Court Wills, 1492-1547*, ed. I. Darlington (London Record Society, 3, 1967), p.62. However, she could not have been compelled to do so under English law.

⁶⁹ Appendix, Wills and Inventories, nos. 1-5. See Methodology, pp. 36-7 and Chapter 3, pp. 209-12.

⁷⁰ Appendix, Wills and Inventories, no. 1.

free to leave, and granted the wherewithal to do so. Africans were paid wages throughout the period- from the black drummer at the court of James IV to James ‘the Blackamoor’, cook to the Earl of Bath at Tawstock, 1639-1646.⁷¹ We might consider it suspicious that in one of his petitions John Anthony suggests his wages be paid straight to Sir Henry Mainwairing, but in fact other servants’ wages on ships were paid to their masters in the same way.⁷² It is also wrong to view the absence of wages as an indicator of slavery, as many domestic servants worked in return for board, clothing, lodging and the odd ‘reward’ at this time.⁷³

Testimony

In fact, it seems that Africans in England had more rights than the few remaining villeins. Villeins could not give evidence in court. In the 1530s, the duke of Suffolk was brought before the Court of Chancery to represent one of his villeins from the Suffolk manor of Frostenden.⁷⁴ In stark contrast, Africans could and did appear in court on their own behalf and give evidence. In 1548, Jacques Frances, whom we have already encountered, gave evidence in defence of his employer, the Venetian Piero Paulo Corsi, who was accused of trying to steal some of the property brought up from sunken ships. He did so, it is specified, ‘of his own free will’, despite the opposition of Anthony de Nicholao Rimero of Venice, a 32 year old sailor, who complained:

That the sayd James Fraunces ys a morisco born where they are not christenyd and slave to the sayd peter Paulo... And therefore he beleavythe that no Credite nor faithe ought to be geven to his Sayenges as in other Strange Christian cuntries hit ys to no suche slave geven.⁷⁵

⁷¹ See Chapter 3, pp. 176, 190-1.

⁷² See cases of Grebby and Claybrook (1561-2) and Leache (1564-5) in P.E.H. Hair and J.D.Alsop, *English Seamen and Traders in Guinea, 1553-1565: the New Evidence of their Wills* (1992), pp. 116, 298, 323.

⁷³ See Chapter 3, pp. 192-200.

⁷⁴ D. MacCulloch, ‘Bondmen Under the Tudors’, p. 98.

⁷⁵ Appendix, Court Records, nos. 1-2.

However, as we have seen, he was designated by the court as a servant rather than a slave and his evidence was taken.⁷⁶ This not only diverges from the treatment of villeins, but also that of colonial slaves. In 1732, it was enacted in Virginia that black men and women ‘are people of such base and corrupt natures that their testimony cannot be certainly depended on’. Roman law stated that slaves could not give evidence unless it was taken under torture.⁷⁷ Thus, the fact that Africans were allowed to testify in English courts of law is quite powerful evidence that they were not considered to be slaves.

Another case in which the testimony of a black African was accepted in an English Court was that of *James Burke vs. Sir Edward Winter*, which came before the Court of Star Chamber in 1597. Edward Swarthy, alias ‘Nigro’, who we have already encountered as porter to Sir Edward, was a key witness. In this case, Burke complains that Winter had not only made use of and enclosed common land and cut down wood in Her Majesty’s Forest of Dean for his own iron works and household fuel, but had caused him to be assaulted, because as verderer of the Forest of Dean, he had objected to Winter’s behaviour. Furthermore, ‘not as yet satisfied with the said barbarous cruelties used towards’ Burke, Winter ‘endeavoured further...to oppresse punishe and disgrace such as he knew to beare any good affecon towards’ Burke. So Winter summoned John Guye, Burke’s son in law, and sometime servant to Winter. This is the one part of the case against him that Winter freely admitted. It is also the strangest part of the case. For

⁷⁶ See above, p. 269.

⁷⁷ Cairns, ‘Slavery and the Roman Law of Evidence’, p. 608 and pp. 600-602. This was also noted by K.J.P. Lowe, ‘The stereotyping of black Africans in Renaissance Europe’, in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, p. 35, citing W.W. Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery: The Condition of Slave in Private Law from Augustus to Justinian* (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 86-88.

Winter then, according to the Bill of Complaint, ‘comaunded one Edwarde Swarthy alias Nigro, his servant being a negro or Blackamore with a cudgell or ryding wande... to beate and whip the said John Guye about the legges and sundry partes of his body’. Winter himself referred to Swarthy simply as his ‘porter’, and did not describe him explicitly as a ‘blackamore.’ Swarthy is not treated differently by the Court; he answered Burke’s bill of complaint himself, and was sworn and posed interrogatories, as were all the witnesses involved in the case. Interrogatories submitted to some of Winter’s other servants, Charles Jones and William Goldricke, use ‘your Master’ in the same way to refer to Winter, and both are asked to report Winter’s ‘speaches’.⁷⁸ Thus Swarthy is obviously deemed as competent a witness as they are. It is also interesting to note that in this, the only incidence of whipping, a feature of chattel slavery, according to Van Cleve, to occur in my sources, it is the African holding the ‘cudgell or ryding wande’.⁷⁹

A third case in which an African’s testimony is accepted in an English court was the 1609 trial of pirate William Longcastle in the High Court of Admiralty.⁸⁰ The main witness to the crime, Anthony Wye, merchant Richard Hall’s factor, was ‘absent...at sea’ and so it looked as if the accused (Longcastle, and his accomplices, Taverner and Moore) might be acquitted, when:

straight was called the *Negro* who before had bene his [Longcastle’s] man and reserued in priuate to se how long their impudence would hould out, when first being demaunded if *Longcastle* had bene his maister, he answered yes: then was asked of *Longcastle* if the Moore had bene his boy, who resolved that he had: the boy was then questioned, if he was not at sea with him in the *Vlisses*? the boy affirmed it, and *Longcastle* being demaunded the same question, although he staggerd at the first, could not strongly deny it. Uppon which affirmation, the

⁷⁸ Appendix, Court Records, no. 16.

⁷⁹ Van Cleve, ‘Somerset’s case and its antecedents’, p. 609.

⁸⁰ See Chapter 2, pp. 142; Chapter 4, pp. 226-7.

evidence [was] strong against *Longcastle*...

This testimony proved the case against Longcastle because he had foolishly left the African behind at the scene of the crime. That is, having robbed the *Susan* of Bristol off the coast of Barbary, he:

in the rashnesse to surprise and hast[e] to get off, he had neglected to take with him him left, in the *Vlisses*, whereby the Factor [Wye] was constrained to take him along with him, and at his returne deliuered him to maister *Hall* at *London*...

Thus, the African boy, in the absence of Wye, was the only individual able to identify Longcastle in court. In an interesting echo of the attempts of the Venetian Anthony de Nicholao Rimero's attempt to discredit Jacques Francis' testimony sixty years earlier, Longcastle:

desirde of their Lordships to be heard, and inferd that he denied him not to be his boy, but intreated of the Court, that the tongue of a Pagan, an Infidel, whose testimonies were no evidence to confirme the Iury, and whose words were to be held in no regard, might not be theare to hew downe the tree of his life, but if that his transgressions against the law had deserued death, I beseech your Lordships quoth he, let the tongue of a christian and not of a Pagan cut off my life. Which words appeared vnto all eares that were present, to be vttered from the vch...ncy[urgency] of his soule...

However, this plea was not accepted, for as we saw in Chapter 4, Longcastle had compounded his error in leaving the boy behind by having him christened:

from the Court he was thus resolved. That where he desired to haue the oath of a Christian, himselfe, & the *Moore* had confest he had made him one.⁸¹

Thus, the Christian status of the African was upheld, as was his right to bear witness in the case. Longcastle, Taverner and Moore were duly executed at Wapping in December 1609.

⁸¹ *The Liues, Apprehensions, Arraignments, and Executions, of the 19. Late Pyrates Namely: Capt. Harris. Iennings. Longcastle. Downes. Haulsey. and their Companies. As they were Seuerally Indited on St. Margrets Hill in Southwarke, on the 22. of December last, and executed the Fryday following (1609), sigs. E2r, E3v, E4r.*

The idea that Christian baptism entitled an African to testify in court was carried across the Atlantic. In 1624, the General Court of Virginia ruled that ‘John Philip a negro... was qualified as a free man and a Christian to give testimony because he had been Christened in England 12 years since.’⁸² This record also highlights the assumed link between the legal status of a free man and the religious status of a Christian. In 1667, the Virginia Assembly declared that conversion to Christianity would not give an African freedom.⁸³ This implies that previously, it had. Pope Eugenius IV, in his Bull *Sicut dudum*, of 1435, sentenced to excommunication ‘all who attempt to capture, sell, or subject to slavery, baptized residents of the Canary Islands, or those who are freely seeking Baptism’.⁸⁴ Thomas Smith’s *De Republica Anglorum* explains that since the English became Christian ‘men began to have conscience to hold in captivitie and such extreme bondage him whom he must acknowledge to be his brother... that is who looketh in Christ and by Christ to have equall portion with me in the Gospel and salvation’.⁸⁵ Smith was discussing the manumission of villeins, but his logic must also apply to Africans. Van Cleve asserts that Africans in Britain were ‘denied baptism’. The example of such an event he cites comes from 1760, when ‘a slaveowner used force against a nine-year-old slave girl during a London church service... to prevent her baptism.’⁸⁶ Baptism was indeed feared by slave owners as a possible route to emancipation. As Lord Mansfield

⁸² A.L. Higginbotham, *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process: the Colonial Period* (Oxford, 1978), p. 21; H.R. McIlwaine (ed.) *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1622-1632, 1670-1676* (Richmond, Virginia, 1924), p. 22; H.T. Catterall, *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro* (5 vols., Washington, 1926-1937), I, p. 55, n. 14. No evidence has been found, as yet, of this baptism in the English parish registers.

⁸³ *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia*, ed. W.W. Henning, (18 vols, Richmond, 1809-1823), II, 346.

⁸⁴ [<http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Eugene04/eugene04sicut.htm>, accessed 23 May 2011]

⁸⁵ T. Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, ed. M.Dewar (Cambridge, 1982), p. 136.

⁸⁶ Van Cleve, ‘Somerset’s case and its antecedents’, p. 609.

commented, the English ‘took infinite pains...to prevent their slaves being made Christians’.⁸⁷ However, this sort of event did not occur in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England or Scotland. As we saw in Chapter 4, baptism was encouraged, witnessed by the community, and was administered to many Africans who came to England. While baptism in itself did not necessarily confer freedom, it was surely a prerequisite or component of liberty in a Christian state. As we saw in Chapter 4, it was necessary to be Christian to marry. The evidence that some Africans could and did marry is another instance of Africans having more rights than villeins. In 1508, 1524, 1526 and 1559, there were cases where villein status stood in the way of marriage.⁸⁸

By the end of the 17th century there were Africans who were in practice treated as slaves in England and Scotland, even if their legal status remained unsure. Kathy Chater in her recent study of the black presence in Britain, c.1660-1807, concluded that ‘slavery did not exist as an institution in England and Wales, though there were individuals who were regarded by their masters as slaves.’⁸⁹ The incidents of chattel slavery that Van Cleve identified do appear once the British begin to be seriously embroiled in the slave trade and the colonial venture from the mid 17th-century onwards. Thus, in Bristol in 1650, Robert Yeamans bought two negroes for £30 that ‘Captain Reynolds took in a ship from the King of Portugall’.⁹⁰ Over fifty advertisements and reports of sales of Africans have been found in newspapers between 1709 and 1792.⁹¹ In 1686, there was an advertisement in *The London Gazette* to the effect that a black boy of 15 years, named John White, had

⁸⁷ Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 113.

⁸⁸ MacCulloch, ‘Bondmen Under the Tudors’, p. 98.

⁸⁹ K. Chater, *Untold Histories: Black People in England and Wales During the Period of the Slave Trade, c.1660-1807* (Manchester, 2009), p. 95.

⁹⁰ *The Deposition Books of Bristol, II: 1650-1654*, ed. H.E. Nott and E. Ralph (Bristol Record Society, XIII, 1947), p. 57.

⁹¹ Chater, *Untold Histories*, p. 86.

run away from Colonel Kirke: 'he has a Silver Collar about his neck, upon which is the Colonel's Coat of Arms and Cipher.'⁹² In 1700, Thomas Papillon, wrote in his will of a black slave: 'I take [him] to be in the nature and quality of my goods and chattels'.⁹³ This change is likely to have occurred in tandem with the development of slavery in the colonies, especially once the heavy labour demands of sugar cultivation dictated the move from indentured white servitude to black slavery, and with the increased British involvement in the slave trade after 1641.⁹⁴ One can imagine that if a man like Papillon had bought his slave in the colonies, he would perceive him as a chattel. Crucially however, these events represent a departure from the earlier period. While no legislation ever explicitly defined Africans in Britain as slaves, after 1640 some Africans (though by no means all) were treated as *de facto* slaves, as Van Cleve suggests. However in the period before 1640 examined here, none of the evidence suggests that Africans in Britain were any more slaves in practice than they were in theory: they were not bought and sold, chained or collared; they were able to give evidence in court and receive wages and baptism and marry; some were of independent means. In his recent study, Habib has responded to this lack of evidence by asserting that the English were ashamed of their alleged slaveholding practices, and so expunged details of them from the records. For example, he insinuates that a man named 'Domyngo', listed as 'with my Lord Treasurer' (that is, William Cecil, Lord Burghley) in the 1567 return of aliens, and explicitly described as 'French' is in fact an 'enslaved African', but:

since the compiled data of these alien tax assessments were ordered by, and sent

⁹² Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 22.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 113; P. Gauci, 'Papillon, Thomas (1623–1702)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21247>, accessed 27 April 2007]

⁹⁴ See above, p. 260; Chapter 1, p. 84; Fryer, *Staying Power*, p. 14. See also K. Morgan, *Slavery and Servitude in North America, 1607-1800* (2000); R.S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: the Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (1972).

directly to, Cecil, he could very well have had the full details of Domyngo's identity expunged, or alternatively the compilers could have suppressed such details out of deference to their employer's discomfort about such attachments.⁹⁵

That Habib must go to such evidence-distorting lengths to attempt (surely in vain) to prove his point surely speaks most eloquently to the importance of maintaining the traditional empirical method. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we must assume that the English, whatever their crimes elsewhere in the Atlantic world, were innocent of slaveholding in England until proven guilty.

⁹⁵ Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 75, n. 37.

Conclusion

For a brief and hitherto largely unremarked period of time between the beginning of European discovery of the wider world and the establishment of English colonies dependent on slave labour, a small but significant number of Africans lived and worked in Britain. Scholars of English literature were the first to notice and consider their existence, but their analysis relied almost exclusively on literary sources. It is only through careful study of a wide variety of the more prosaic evidence to be found in parish registers, tax returns, court records and the other written remains of early modern lives that we can hope to establish an accurate picture of the African experience in Britain.

Having considered the role of English and Scottish men abroad in this period, the arrival of Africans in Britain becomes unsurprising. As we saw in Chapter 1, the English initiated trade with Barbary and Guinea in the 1550s, which expanded to other areas and increased in frequency over time. Concomitantly, diplomatic relationships were initiated with African rulers, the strongest bond being formed with the Moroccans, who were potential allies against Spain. Rivalry with Spain translated into increasing numbers of privateering expeditions, and raids on the Iberian empire, which brought Englishmen into contact with the ‘creoles’ of the Atlantic world. These encounters with Africans, on the African coast or at sea, show that Africans were treated in a pragmatic way, dependent on situation and circumstances. They also suggest how Africans might come to Britain.

In fact, Africans came to Britain not only via the Atlantic world, but also from Africa and from Europe. Small numbers came directly from Africa as a result of trade. They were

sometimes part of a hostage exchange, or were to be taught English and trained as interpreters to facilitate future trade. Some even came to see the country or to be baptised. Other came from Europe in the entourages of royals and notables, or with merchants. The largest numbers however, seem to have arrived in Britain almost by accident, as a side effect of privateering activity, whereby a Spanish or Portuguese ship was taken as prize for its sugar or silver, but was found to also contain Africans, who were brought back to England by chance more than design. This mode of arrival has been overlooked in the past, and indeed was short-lived, as from the 1620s Africans were more likely to be delivered to the emerging English colonies.

Once in Britain, Africans pursued many occupations. Most were not recorded as being in service, and there is evidence of African men working as independent tradesmen, including a silkweaver and a needlemaker, as well as of women in possession of property. Within domestic service, Africans were to be found in a wide range of households, performing an even wider range of tasks. Within royal courts, there were some quite high-status individuals such as Peter the More in Edinburgh and Catalina de Cordones in London. Others served as musicians, entertainers, stable hands; and in aristocratic households we find a cook and a laundry maid. Beyond the great houses, we find many Africans working in merchant's houses. Some were skilled as divers, or sailors. There is not however much evidence of African women working as prostitutes, as has often been assumed. In fact African men are found more regularly as customers of prostitutes, which in itself demonstrates a certain level of economic independence. Africans were remunerated for their work in much the same way as other servants. Some were paid

wages and rewards, others received payment in kind, with masters paying for food, lodging and clothing. The kind of clothing they wore attests to the fact that they were not exotic pets but functional members of the household.

Africans were accepted into the religious community, where they were baptized, buried and sometimes married according to the rites of the Anglican Church. Of course not all lives were lived within the bounds of Christian morality, and some Africans are recorded as the parents of illegitimate children or accused of fornication in the church courts. However, extra-marital sex and its consequences were just as common in the rest of the population. There is no evidence that African women were more regular victims of sexual exploitation than other women. Indeed, what is interesting is the evidence of inter-racial fornication and marriage, which shows another form of acceptance into the community.

All the aspects of the lives of these Africans, from their arrival to their deaths make it abundantly clear that they were not enslaved in Britain. There is no evidence of their being successfully bought or sold, or of corporal punishment such as whipping or chaining. They were paid wages, baptized, married and left legacies in their employer's wills. Furthermore, it was reported abroad, by Spaniards and Africans, that there were no slaves in England. Vitaly, Africans were not seen as slaves in the eyes of the law. There was no slave code. Africans were allowed to testify in court. Hector Nunes was unable to compel the 'Ethiopian Negar' to 'tarry and serve' him. It seems that England really had 'too pure an air for slaves to breathe in'. Those who would assume that any reference to an African in this period must be a reference to a slave must think again.

Wider significance

The new evidence of Africans in Britain has far-reaching implications for the study of slavery and racism in colonial America. Winthrop Jordan's influential analysis firmly located the English's 'first impressions' of Africans in Africa.¹ However, it seems that Englishmen were just as likely to have encountered Africans at home. Further, this encounter has sometimes been characterized as a 'sudden exposure'; but small numbers of Africans were present in England and Scotland throughout the sixteenth century.² Even more strikingly, the treatment and experience of Africans in Britain was not what one might expect had they really been viewed primarily as heathen, ape-like, libidinous savages, as the literary stereotypes sometimes indicate.

If, therefore, slavery and racism were not imported into Virginia and the other early English colonies from England, we will have to ask how they emerged. Explanations will need to focus on the peculiar circumstances of society in the early colonies, not on the psychological 'blackness within' ascribed to Tudor and Stuart Englishmen.³ Certainly any new analysis should take into account the relatively small numbers of Africans studied here. Slave codes and endemic racism seem to have emerged in societies with large African populations: thus even in the early years of the Chesapeake settlement, the relatively small numbers of Africans there had a less clearly defined status than their

¹ W.D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (1968), p. 3.

² Jordan, *White Over Black*, p. 6; A.T. and V.M. Vaughan, 'Before Othello: Elizabethan Representations of Sub-Saharan Africans', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 54, no. 1 (1997), p. 29; L. Shore, 'The Enduring Power of Racism: A Reconsideration of Winthrop Jordan's *White over Black*', *History and Theory*, 44 (2005), p. 204.

³ Jordan, *White Over Black*, pp. 40-43.

descendants.⁴

The literature of the period must also be re-examined in this historical context. Kelechie Ezie in her Princeton BA thesis has begun to show how this might be done.⁵ She observed that ‘literary critics have mainly concerned themselves with the study of race while ignoring the presence of Africans. Race is a concept while Africans are a diverse group of people’.⁶ She advocated ‘abandoning widely held assumptions like the myth that the African presence in Elizabethan England was rare or negligible; or that all Africans in Elizabethan England were slaves’.⁷

When the important collection of essays on *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe* was published in 2005, it largely dealt with southern Europe. The only essay to deal with England was theoretical, in Jordan mode, discussing ideals of beauty.⁸ The delineation of a small but significant black population in early modern Britain lends weight to the endeavours of historians who are beginning to explore similar evidence of a black presence in other European countries such as France and the Netherlands.⁹ Together, this new material can be used to explore questions about the differences in the black experience across Europe.

⁴ Chapter 1, pp. 117-9.

⁵ K. Ezie, ‘Reading What Is There: Africans in Early Modern England’ (Princeton University BA Thesis, 2008), winner of Princeton European History Thesis Prize.

⁶ Ezie, ‘Reading What Is There’, p. 63.

⁷ Ezie, ‘Reading What Is There’, p. 95.

⁸ A. Korhonen, ‘Washing the Ethiopian white: conceptualizing black skin in Renaissance England’ in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, pp. 94-112.

⁹ S. Peabody, *There are no Slaves in France: The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Regime* (New York and Oxford, 1996); D. Hondius, ‘Black Africans in Seventeenth Century Amsterdam’, in K.J.P. Lowe (ed.) *Sub-Saharan Africa and Renaissance and Reformation Europe: New findings and New Perspectives*, special issue of: *Renaissance and Reformation*, 31, no. 2 (Toronto, Spring 2008), pp. 89-108.

The fact that Africans in Britain between 1500 and 1640 were not slaves has significance also for legal historians. The Cartwright case of 1569, in which it was stated that ‘England has too pure an Air for Slaves to breathe in’ has long been cited, but now there is additional material available to show that it was not an anomaly.¹⁰ Chater shows how an over-emphasis on the big court cases of the 18th century has caused scholars to overlook the evidence for the lives of Africans in cases not relating to questions of slave status.¹¹ Similarly, although there were no cases debating the legality of African slavery explicitly in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, there were a few cases involving Africans that can be examined to learn more about their lives and legal status.

More specifically for the history of Africans, my research provides an important corrective to the partial story currently being taught in schools. The stories of John Blanke the trumpeter and the 1601 ‘deportation’ act, which are the only aspects of this period to appear in the suggested lesson plans on the *blackhistory4schools.com* website, give the impression that Africans were in service and then discriminated against.¹² It is vital to teach a history in schools that is the result of scholarly research, not just a series of ‘soundbites’, to show that the African experience was more varied and that they were accepted into society, not driven out.

What next?

¹⁰ J. Rushworth, *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State* (2 vols., 1680), II, 468; Chapter 5, pp. 274-5.

¹¹ K. Chater, *Untold Histories: Black People in England and Wales during the Period of the Slave Trade, c.1660-1807* (Manchester, 2009), pp. 103-130.

¹² [<http://www.blackhistory4schools.com>, accessed 9 January 2009]

Further evidence of the black presence must lurk in the archives. It is vital to identify Africans correctly in these sources, and the survey here of the different terms used to describe them in the records should help. Much source material for this period remains unprinted, unedited and un-indexed. Further, indexes of surnames or even places are not much use when looking for Africans. However, there are an increasing number of sources available online, with full text searches. Initiatives such as State Papers Online and British History Online make it possible for the first time to search a huge number of texts for contemporary key words such as 'blackamoor' or 'negro'.¹³ However, these projects have, understandably, started with material that was quite comprehensively catalogued in the 19th century. The sources that have proved most revealing for this study - the records of the courts which operated an inquisitorial method - are largely unindexed or catalogued. The records of the High Court of Admiralty in particular must hold many references to Africans encountered at sea and brought to England, and perhaps also to some African sailors. Were such records to be digitalized, much more evidence of the black presence might be swiftly extracted.

However, the evidence already found is sufficient to draw conclusions, and also to draw comparisons. The lives of Africans in Britain might be profitably contrasted with the lives of Africans in other European countries or in the Spanish and English colonies at the same time. Interesting comparisons can also be made with the lives of Africans in 18th century Britain. Kathy Chater's recent work facilitates this. Interestingly, she shows that even in the era of the slave trade, Africans in Britain did not suffer quite as badly as had

¹³ British History Online: [<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/Default.aspx>, accessed 18 August 2011]; State Papers Online: [<http://gale.cengage.co.uk/state-papers-online-15091714.aspx>, accessed 18 August 2011].

previously been assumed. Her investigation of Old Bailey trials led her to conclude that ‘black people were not treated substantially differently from the general population.’¹⁴ Her work emphasizes the importance of studying the lives of Africans in the context of wider English society ‘to determine what was unique to black people and what was experienced by other minority groups.’¹⁵ She concludes that ‘black people quickly assimilated into the general population and their very invisibility is further evidence they were neither slaves nor stigmatized outsiders during the long eighteenth century, when the slave trade was being conducted.’¹⁶ Her work also shows a level of continuity with the preceding era, as Africans continued to be baptized, and paid wages whilst engaging in a wide range of occupations.

In Europe, the southern countries of Spain, Portugal and the Italian states were slave-holding societies. This allowed for a culture of manumission, and so there were also many free blacks in those places. In France, the Netherlands, and Britain, numbers of Africans were much smaller, and so perhaps it will soon be demonstrated that the position of Africans in these other northern European countries was similar to that in Britain. Recently, the records of the Portuguese Jewish cemetery of Amsterdam, Beth Haim, have revealed that dozens of Africans were buried there in the seventeenth century.¹⁷ This parallels the black presence in London’s *converso* households. Furthermore, the arrival of Africans in Holland as a result of privateering in two known instances in Zeeland (1596) and Amsterdam (1626) make an interesting comparison to such cases in Britain, while the

¹⁴ Chater, *Untold Histories*, p. 130.

¹⁵ Chater, *Untold Histories*, p. 166.

¹⁶ Chater, *Untold Histories*, p. 240.

¹⁷ Hondius, ‘Black Africans in Seventeenth Century Amsterdam’, pp. 90, 92-94. .

weight of English evidence should persuade Dutch historians to investigate this phenomenon more thoroughly.¹⁸ The evidence already emerging suggests that Africans were free in the Netherlands: when Portuguese merchant Eliau Burgos brought his slave Juliana with him to Amsterdam from Brazil in 1656 she left him and refused to join him again when he wanted to travel on to Barbados because people had told her that slaves were free in the Netherlands.¹⁹ Hector Nunes had the same problem with the 'Ethiopian negar' who refused to tarry and serve him.²⁰ Although less work has been done to unearth evidence of an African population in France, what is known- that the Africans that came to Bordeaux in 1571 were set free - suggests that further investigation, and comparison with the British model, would be fruitful.²¹

Above all, the new insight into the lives of Africans in Britain provided by the evidence assembled here must cause us to readjust our perspective. Whilst present-centred concerns may have led us to investigate this subject in the first place, we cannot continue to judge what we find through a present-focused lens. We must put aside our knowledge of the institutional slavery and racism that emerged in the intervening years and attempt to consider the early modern period on its own terms. Early modern Britain was divided by religion and class, not race. The treatment of Africans in Britain shows that slavery was not the only possible response to the inter-racial encounter and that racism was not deeply embedded in the 'white' man's psyche. Whilst it is understandable that the first scholars to touch upon this subject came to it looking for a 'maligned race' or to

¹⁸ Hondius, 'Black Africans in Seventeenth Century Amsterdam', pp. 88-89, 90-91

¹⁹ Hondius, 'Black Africans in Seventeenth Century Amsterdam', p. 94.

²⁰ See Chapter 5, pp. 282-3.

²¹ W.B.Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans: White Responses to Blacks 1530-1880* (Indiana, 1980), p. 5; Peabody, 'There Are No Slaves in France', pp. 12, 29. See also Chapter 2, p. 137 on French activity in Guinea.

emphasise the 'white man's burden', the evidence does not support the stories they wanted to tell. The history of Africans in Britain 1500-1640 is at once less simple and more fascinating than they knew, provoking more questions that need answers.

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Northam St Margaret 1560-1640 (MF28)

East Allington (DRO 696/1 MF 7)

Barnstaple (DRO MFC 46/6)

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Hatherleigh (DRO MF 1)

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E179/115/368 [1564]

E179/115/372 [1567]

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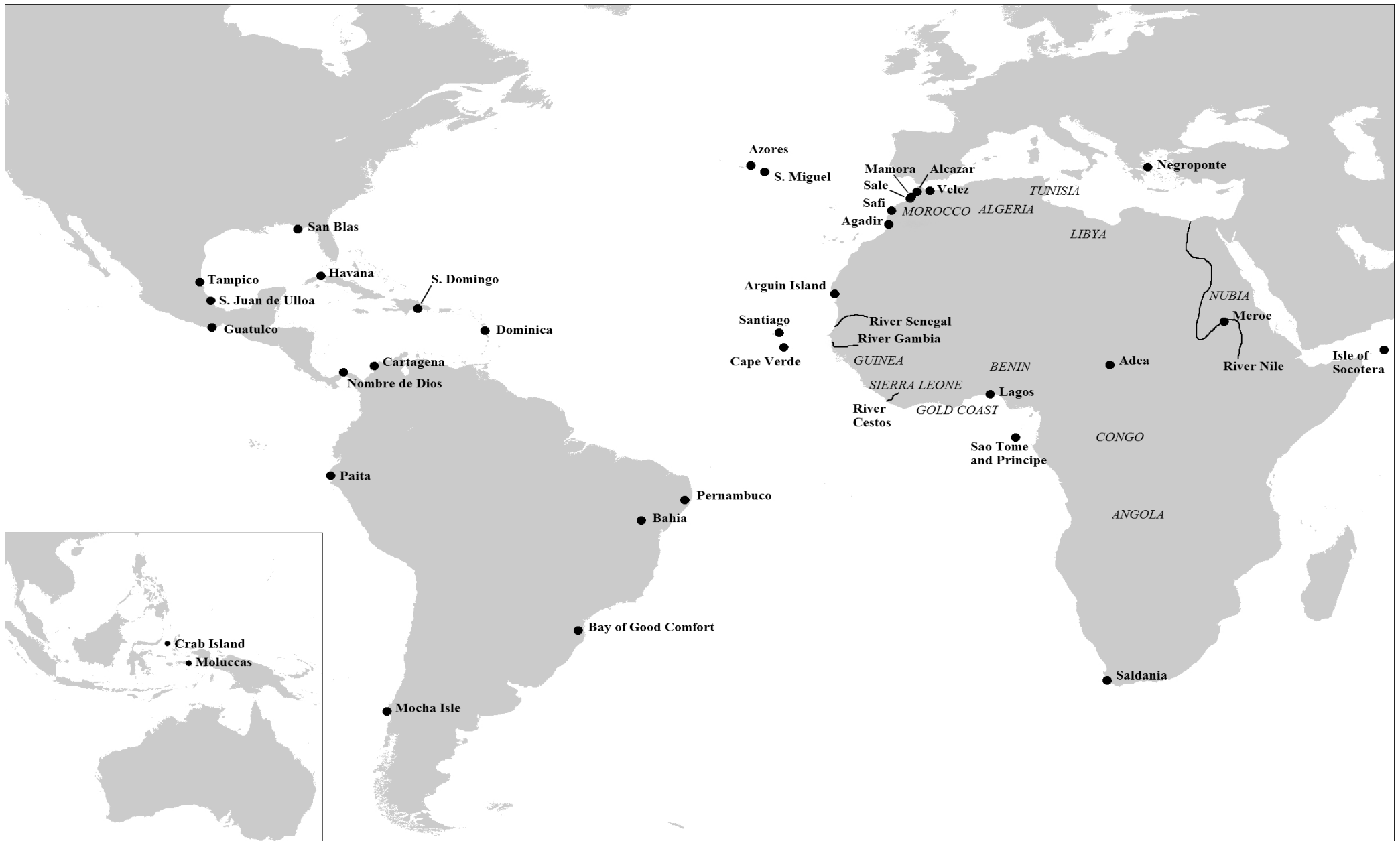
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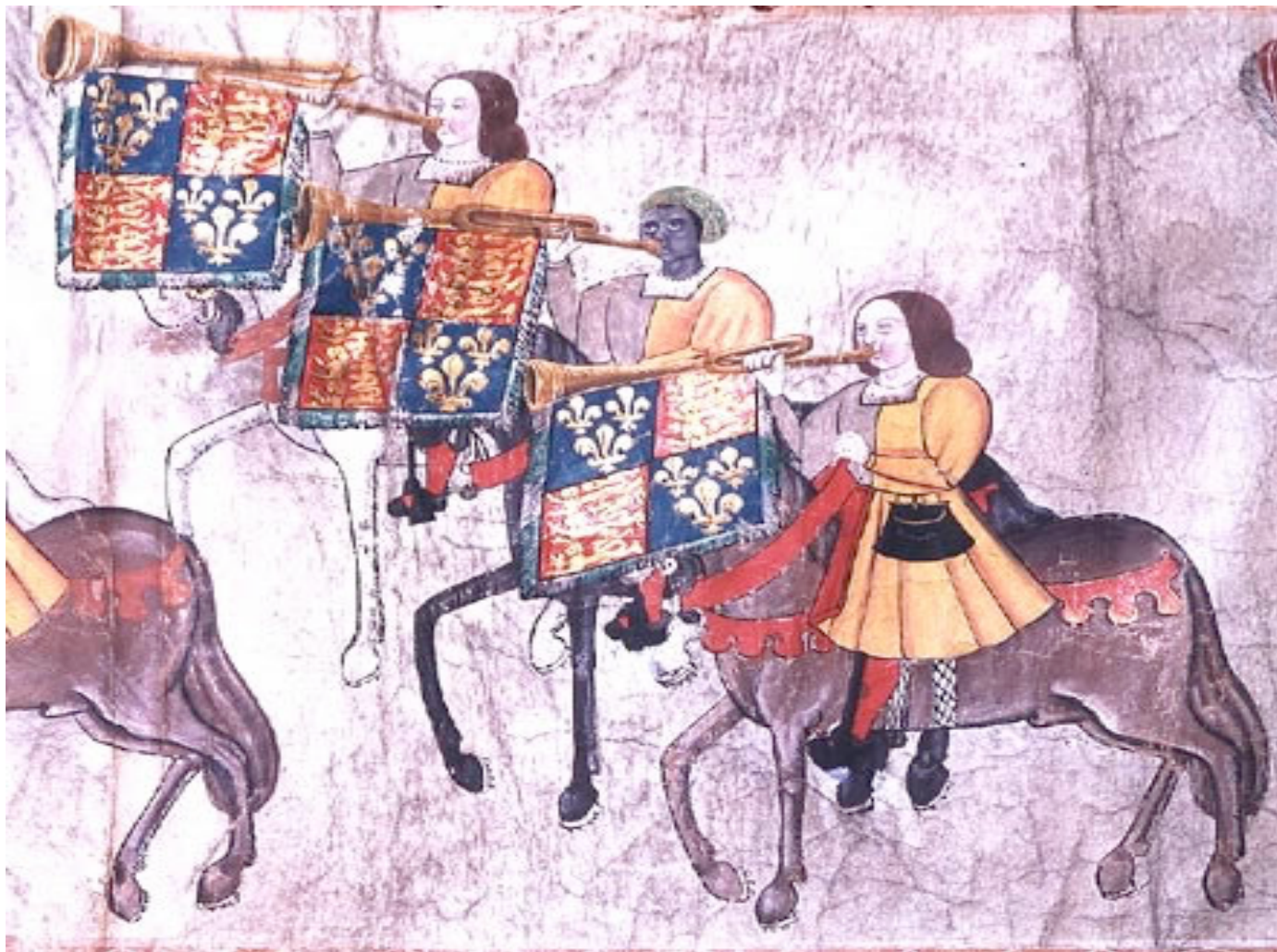


Illustration 1: John Blanke 'the Black Trumpet' in the Great Tournament Roll of Westminster (1511), College of Arms, London.



Illustration 2: 'Elizabeth at Kenilworth' (1575), private collection.

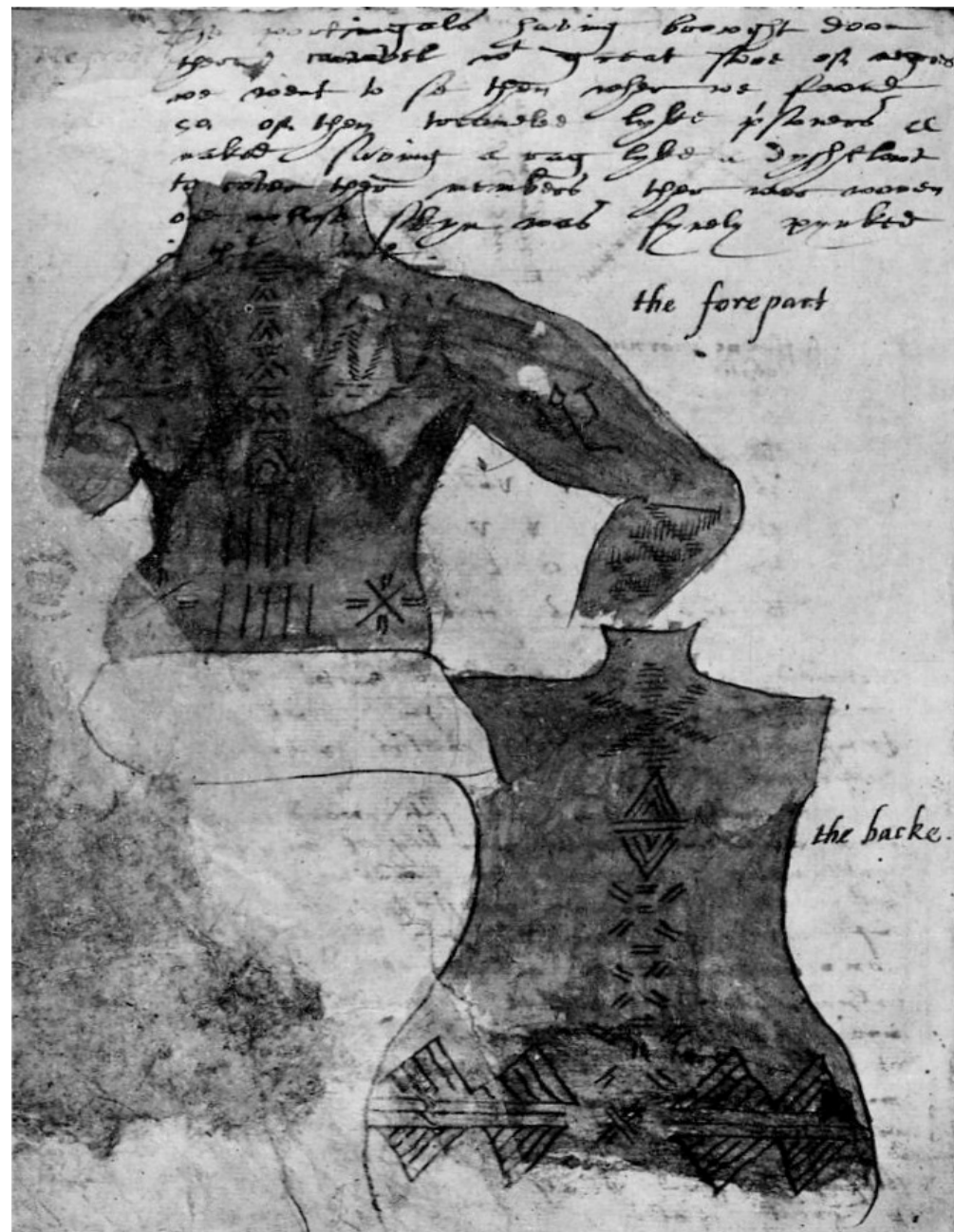


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1. Baptism Records

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Parish	Place	County	First name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Mother's name	Mother's Ethnic Descriptor	Father's name	Father's Ethnic Descriptor	Household
1	1565	May	10	St Mary Aldermanbury	London		Jhon	the Blackmoor	M					
2	1565	June	18	St Peters	Barnstaple	Devon	Anthony	a blackemore	M					Mr. Nicholas Witchalse
3	1575	August	15	St Peters	Dyrham	Gloucestershire	Gylman Iyve	negro	M					
4	1577	August	10	St Andrew	East Allington	Devon	George	the blackmoor	M					Mr. John Fortescue of ffallapytt
5	1578	October	28	St Peters	Dyrham	Gloucestershire	Elizabeth		F	Anna Spencer		Gylman Ivye	aethiopis	
6	1581	February	25	St Peters	Dyrham	Gloucestershire	Richard		M	Anna Spencer		Gylman Ivye	aethiopis	
7	1586	September	25	St Botolph Bishopsgate	London		Elizabeth	a negro child, born white	F		a Negro			
8	1587	February	19	St Olave Tooley St	London		Edward	no	M			Resonabell Blackman		
9	1593	May	2	St Andrews	Plymouth	Devon	Helene	no	F	Cristian	the negro	Cuthbert Holman		Richard Sheere
10	1593	June	7	Holy Trinity Minories	London		James Ongunby	a Negro	M					
11	1594	November	17	St Andrews	Plymouth	Devon	Cristien	no	F	Mary	a negro	John King	Dutchman	John White
12	1594	December	24	St Andrews	Plymouth	Devon	Fortunatus	no	M		a negro		Portugall	Thomas Kegwin
13	1595	April	22	Chislehurst	Bromley	Kent	Cristofer Adam	a blackamore	M					
14	1595	September	7	St. Leonard's Shoreditch	London		Susan		F		a Black more			
15	1596	July	1	St Andrews	Plymouth	Devon	Susan	no	F		a Blackmoore			
16	1596	April	6	St Peters	Barnstaple	Devon	Grace	a Neiger	F					Richard Dodderidge
17	1596	October	4	St Andrews	Plymouth	Devon	Katheren Pedro	Neger	F			Don Pedro		

1. Baptism Records

Record number	Archival Reference	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
1	GL MS 3572/1		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	Burials, no. 2.	127	
2	DRO MFC 46/6			Wills and Inventories, no. 1.		
3	BRO FCP/Dy/R/1(a)1					Habib, <i>Black Lives</i> , refers to this on p. 215, n. 66.
4	DRO 696/1 MF 7		http://www.devon.gov.uk/newsletter_may2000.pdf , p. 11		142	
5	BRO FCP/Dy/R/1(a)1			Burials, no. 4.		
6	BRO FCP/Dy/R/1(a)1			Burials, no. 4.		
7	GL MS 4515/1		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm		159	
8	LMA X097/233; P71/OLA/009, p.00052				162	
9	PWDRO 358/6 MF1	<i>St Andrews's Parish Register</i> , ed. Cruwys, p. 47.		Burials, no. 30.	187	
10	GL MS 9239, f.12		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm			
11	PWDRO 358/6 MF 1	<i>St Andrews's Parish Register</i> , ed. Cruwys, p. 57.			201	
12	PWDRO 358/6 MF 1	<i>St Andrews's Parish Register</i> , ed. Cruwys, p. 58.			202	
13	Bromley Archives, P92/1/1, 1558-1681, p. 1.				205	
14	GL 7493				208	
15	PWDRO 358/6 MF2	<i>St Andrews's Parish Register</i> , ed. Cruwys, p. 67.			213	
16	DRO MFC 46/6				211	
17	PWDRO 358/6 MF2	<i>St Andrews's Parish Register</i> , ed. Cruwys, p. 69.			217	

1. Baptism Records

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Parish	Place	County	First name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Mother's name	Mother's Ethnic Descriptor	Father's name	Father's Ethnic Descriptor	Household
18	1597	June	3	St Botolph Aldgate	London		Mary Phillis	A Blackmore	F			Phillis	Moroccan	Millicent Porter
19	1598	April	10	St Peters	Barnstaple	Devon	Elizabeth	an nigor	F					Mrs Ayer
20	1600	August	18	St Philip and St Jacob	Bristol	Gloucestershire	Richard		M	Joane Marya	a Black Moore	Thomas Smythe?		
21	1602	March	18	St Dunstan and All Saints	Stepney		Christian Ethiopia		U		a Blackmore			
22	1602	March	29	St Mary Bothaw	London		Julyane	a blackamoore	F					Paul Bayning
23	1603	June	23	St Andrews	Plymouth	Devon	Richard		M	Marye	a Neger	Roger Hoggett		
24	1603	July	29	St Dunstan and All Saints	Stepney		Charity Lucanea	a blackamor	F					
25	1604	May	13		Hatherleigh	Devon	Grace	a blackmore	F					
26	1604	May	24	St Damien and St Cosmos	Blean	Kent	Wylmm		M	Elizabeth	The Black Moore			
27	1605	January	14?	St Keverne	St Keverne	Cornwall	Constance		F		a blackmore	John		
28	1605	May	22	St Peters	Barnstaple	Devon	Mary		F	Elysabeth	a nygor			Mrs Ayer
29	1606	February	26	St Peters	Barnstaple	Devon	Chatherine	a Nygor	F					Mr Lanyon
30	1606	April	11	St Andrew with St Luke	Stoke Damerel, Plymouth	Devon	Mary Becke	an Indian or blacke moore	F			Becke??		Mr Becke?
31	1606	June	2	St Benet Fink	London		John		M		a blackamore woman	John Edwardes		
32	1606	August	10	St John the Baptist	Hatherleigh	Devon	Rebecca		F	Grace	a negro			
33	1606	November	10	St Peters	Barnstaple	Devon	Elysabeth		F	Suzanna	a nygor			
34	1609	February	19	St George the Martyr	Southwark		Richard	a Blackmore	M					
35	1609	July	8	St Andrews	Plymouth	Devon	Andrew		M	Kathalina	Negra	John Tremellyn		

1. Baptism Records

Record number	Archival Reference	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
18	GL MS 9220; MS 9223; MS 9234/6	Doran, <i>The Tudor Chronicles</i> , p. 385.	http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm		224	Habib mistranscribes 'Barker' as 'Barber'. 'dwelling with seamstress'.
19	DRO MFC 46/6				227	
20	BRO, FCP/St P +J/R/1(a)2			Burials, no. 53.		
21	LMA P93/DUN/255				249	
22	GL MS 4310		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	Tax Returns, no. 8, Court Records, no. 22, Wills and Inventories, no. 4.	242	Habib misdates this to 1601.
23	PWDRO 358/6 MF2	<i>St Andrews's Parish Register</i> , ed. Cruwys, p. 110.			254	
24	P93/DUN/255				255	
25	DRO MF1			Burials, nos. 59, 66.	260	
26	CCA-U3/62/1/1.					
27	CRO P99/1/1					
28	DRO MFC 46/6			Burials, no. 56.	261	
29	DRO MFC 46/6				264	Habib writes '2 February'.
30	PWDRO 166 MF 1					
31	GL MS 4097		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	Court Records, no. 21.	266	Habib misses Edwardes' first name, John.
32	DRO MF1				267	
33	DRO MFC 46/6				269	
34	LMA P92/GEO/139				272	
35	PWDRO 358/6 MF3					

1. Baptism Records

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Parish	Place	County	First name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Mother's name	Mother's Ethnic Descriptor	Father's name	Father's Ethnic Descriptor	Household
36	1610	February	3	All Hallows	Tottenham		Walter		M			Nosser Anberey	Dungalese	
37	1611	January	1	St Mildred Poultry	London		John(Dederi) Jaquoah		M			Caddi-biah	Guinean	John Davies
38	1611	April	7	St John the Baptist	Hatherleigh	Devon	Horter		F	Grace	(a negro)			
39	1612	April	21	St Stephen Coleman Street.	London		Anthony		M	a blackamoore		Leonard Harwood the younger		
40	1612	July	28	Temple	Bristol	Gloucestershire	James	a blackman	M					
41	1612	October	1	St Mary	Truro	Cornwall	Richard		M			Emmanuel	Maurus	
42	1613	November	28	St Nicholas	Deptford	Kent	Samuel? [M?]unser	a blackamour	M					
43	1617	January	26	St Olave, Hart St.	London		Mark Antonie	a Negro	M					
44	1619	February	17	Temple	Bristol	Gloucestershire	Philip White alias Haumath	a barbarian Moore	M					
45	1620	February	13	All Saints	Staplehurst	Kent	George		M	Marie Smith		George	a blackmore	
46	1620	March	15	St Martin in the Fields	Westminster		Michael		M	Sphillidis		Anthony Ffrageamy	Mauri	

1. Baptism Records

Record number	Archival Reference	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
36	LMA DRO/015/A/01/001				278	
37	GL MS 4429/1	Knutson, 'A Caliban in St. Mildred Poultry', p. 111.	http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	Burials, nos. 41, 52.	277	son of the 'king of the river of Cetras or Cestus, Guinea'
38	DRO MF1					
39	GL MS 4448			Burials, no. 64.		
40	BRO GMF 1 Shelf, transcription by E. George, Baptisms, v.1. Temple P/Tem/R/1(a)					
41	CRO FP236/1/1, Fiche 3			Burials, no. 63.		
42	LMA P78/NIC/001			Marriages, no. 4.	286	Habib (pp. 243-5) claims he is an East Indian.
43	GL 28867		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	Burials, no. 72.	290	He was buried two days later. Habib misdates this entry to 1615/6.
44	BRO GMF 1 Shelf, transcription by E. George, Baptisms, v.1. Temple P/Tem/R/1(a)					
45	CKS, P347/1/1, f.115.			Marriages, no. 5.	308	Habib mistranscribes and misreferences this entry.
46	WRO, St Martin's in the Fields Parish Registers, vol. 2.					

1. Baptism Records

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Parish	Place	County	First name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Mother's name	Mother's Ethnic Descriptor	Father's name	Father's Ethnic Descriptor	Household
47	1620	March	19	St Margarets	Westminster		Nicholas	a negro	M					
48	1621	February	8	St Martin in the Fields	Westminster		Maria	nigra	F					Endymion Porter
49	1622	May	19	All Saints	Staplehurst	Kent	Elizabeth		F	Marie Smith		George	the Blackamore	
50	1626	July	3	St Mary Le Strand	Westminster		Elizabeth		F				blackemore	
51	1627	October	26	St Dunstan and All Saints	Stepney		Mary	a Negro maid	F					Anne Isaac
52	1629	May	14	St Mary Woolnorth	London		Thomas	a heathen Blackamoore	M					
53	1630	April	25	St Leonard's Shoreditch	London		James Kelly	an African Blackemoore	M					
54	1631	January	17	St Andrews	Plymouth	Devon	Katherin		F		a blackamore			
55	1631	January		Sherbourne Abbey	Sherbourne	Dorset	Eedeth		F	Katalina	a blacamore			
56	1631	February	9	St Dunstan and All Saints	Stepney		James		M	Grace	a blackmore	James Diego	Negro	Mr Bromfield
57	1631	December	4	St Olave Hart St	London		Thomas Wood	a blackamoore	M					
58	1632	January	26	St Mary Major	Exeter	Devon	Thomas		M		a Blackmore			
59	1633	April		St. Peter's	Tawstock	Devon	James	a Blacke Moore Man	M					

1. Baptism Records

Record number	Archival Reference	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
47	WRO, St Margarets Parish Registers, vol. 4.	<i>Memorials of St Margaret's Church</i> , ed. Burke, p. 103.	http://www.westminster.gov.uk/services/libraries/archives/blackpresence/03/		309	
48	WRO, St Martin's in the Fields Parish Registers, vol. 2.					
49	CKS, P347/1/1, f.119.				314	Habib mistranscribes and misreferences this entry.
50	WRO, St Mary Le Strand Parish Registers, vol. 1.					
51	LMA P93/DUN/255				331	
52	GL 7635	<i>Registers of St Mary Woolnoth</i> , ed. Brooke and Hallen, p. 38.			335	indexed as 'Blackamoore, A'. Habib has 'Timothy'.
53	GL 7493				336	
54	PWDRO 358/6 MF6	<i>St Andrews's Parish Register</i> , ed. Cruwys, p. 562.			338	
55	Dorset Record Office, MIC/R/677 PE/SH: RE 1-3, transcribed by A.A.Moon (3 vols. 1983), II, p.341.					
56	LMA P93/DUN/256				341	
57	GL MS 28868	<i>Registers of St Olave, Hart St.</i> , ed. Bruce Bannerman, p. 43.	http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm		349	
58	DRO MF5			Burials, no. 89.		
59	North Devon Record Office, PR1, f.66.			Household Records, nos. 117-125.		

1. Baptism Records

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Parish	Place	County	First name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Mother's name	Mother's Ethnic Descriptor	Father's name	Father's Ethnic Descriptor	Household
60	1634	January	11	St Andrews	Plymouth	Devon	Elizabeth		F	Angell	A Blackamore	a ffleminge	Dutchman	
61	1634	January	5	St Martin in the Fields	Westminster		Sarah Maria	Ethiopian	F					Buzzine family
62	1634	December	25	St. Peter's	Sibton	Suffolk	Christianna Niger Anglice	a blackamore	F					
63	1635	January	31	St Andrews	Plymouth	Devon	Margery		F	Katherine	a Blackmoore	Federicke Daniel		
64	1636	August	14	St John the Baptist	Bristol	Gloucestershire	Maudlinge		F		a blackamoore			Bridewell Prison
65	1637	April	11	St Andrews	Plymouth	Devon	Walter	a Blackmoore neager	M					
66	1637	October	25	St Margarets	Topsham	Devon	Ffaith		F	Mary	Blackmore			
67	1638	May	5	St Olave Hart St	London		Thomas Williams	blackamoor	M					
68	1640	November	9	St. Sidwells	Exeter	Devon	Luce		F		a blackmoore maid			John Aptor

1. Baptism Records

Record number	Archival Reference	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
60	PWDRO 358/6 MF6	<i>St Andrews's Parish Register</i> , ed. Cruwys, p. 587.			346	Habib misdates this to 1632/3.
61	WRO, St Martin's in the Fields Parish Registers, vol. 2.					
62	SRO, FC 61/D1/1.		http://www.suffolkcc.gov.uk/sro/Coloured_People.html			
63	PWDRO 358/6 MF6					
64	BRO FCP/St. JB/R/1(a)2					
65	PWDRO 358/6 MF6					
66	DRO MF 2					
67	GL MS 28868	<i>Registers of St Olave, Hart St.</i> , ed. Bruce Bannerman, p. 48.	http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm		356	
68	Vol I: Baptisms, tr. C.A. T. Fursdon (1926).					

2. Burial Records

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Parish	Place	County	First name	Second name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Household	Record table cross reference	Archival Reference
1	1545	December	16	St Nicholas	Eydon	Northamptonshire	Thomas	Bull	niger	M			Northamptonshire RO, Microfiche 120p/ 3
2	1565	May	23	St Mary the Virgin	Aldermanbury	London	Jhon		the Blackmoor	M		Baptisms, no. 1.	GL MS 3572/1
3	1571	September	27	St Martin in the Fields	Westminster	London	Margaret		a Moor	F			WRO, St Martin in the Fields Parish Registers, vol.1.
4	1583	June	9	St Peters	Dyrham	Somerset	Richard	Ivye		M		Baptisms, nos. 5,6.	BRO FCP/Dy/R/1(a)1
5	1583	December	10	St Andrews	Plymouth	Devon	Bastien		a Blackmoore	M	William Hawkins	Court Records, no. 5.	PWDRO 358/6 MF1
6	1584	June	5	St Mary the Virgin	Amersham	Buckinghamshire	Ruth		of Meritania	F			
7	1586	October	22	St Botolph Aldgate	London		Christopher	Cappervert	a black Moore	M			GL 9222, 9222/1
8	1586	November	19	St Mary Le Strand	Westminster		Nychas		a blackmore	M			WRO, St Mary Le Strand Parish Registers, vol.1.
9	1586	December	10	St Mary the Virgin	Calne	Wiltshire	Maria	Mandula	aethiops	F			
10	1587	March	18	St Andrews	Plymouth	Devon	John	Anthony	a Neyger	M			PWDRO 358/6 MF1
11	1587	August	27	St Botolph Aldgate	London		Domingo		a ginnye Negar	M	Sir William Winter		GL MS 9222, 9222/1, 9234/1
12	1588	January	8	St Ann Blackfriars	London		Domyngo		a Blackmore	M			GL MS 4510/1
13	1588	January	28	St Olave Hart St	London		Mary		a blackamore	F	Dr. Hector Nunez	Tax Returns, no. 7, Court Records, no. 10.	
14	1588	June	6	St Olave Hart St	London		Isabell		a blackamoore	F			GL MS 28867
15	1588	June	29	St Olave Hart St	London				a man blackamore	M			GL MS 28867
16	1589	January	30	St Andrew Holborn	London		Sebrina		a blackmore wench	F			GL MS 6673/1
17	1590	July	13	St Olave Hart St	London		Grace		a nigro	F	Dr. Hector Nunez	Tax Returns, no. 7, Court Records, no. 10.	GL MS 28867
18	1590	September	5	St Olave Hart St	London		Francisco		a nigro	M			GL MS 28867
19	1591	January	8	St Botolph Aldgate	London		Frauncis		a Blackamoor	M	Thomas Parker		GL MS 9222/1, f.193.

2. Burial Records

Record number	Printed reference	Online reference	Habib Index	Notes
1		http://www.northants-black-history.org.uk/searchDetails.asp?id=298&quickSearch=1&searchKeywords=bull&searchPageSize=5&page=		
2			128	
3		http://www1.westminster.gov.uk/libraries/archives/blackpresence/02.cfm?ren	134	
4				Gylman Iyve, aethiopsis.
5	<i>St Andrews's Parish Register</i> , ed. Cruwys, p. 292.		152	
6				I was sent this reference by Kathy Chater, who found it in the Society of Genealogists' material.
7		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	161	
8				
9		http://www.wshc.eu/blog/archive/April-2009/NOW http://www.wshc.eu/wiltshire-black-history-resources.html		The entry reads 'Maria Mandula advena et aethiops (stranger and Aethiops)'
10	<i>St Andrews's Parish Register</i> , ed. Cruwys, p. 305.		168	
11		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	163	Full text online.
12		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	166	
13	<i>Registers of St Olave, Hart St.</i> , ed. Bruce Bannerman, p. 121.		167	
14	<i>Registers of St Olave, Hart St.</i> , ed. Bruce Bannerman, p. 121.	http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	170	
15	<i>Registers of St Olave, Hart St.</i> , ed. Bruce Bannerman, p.121.	http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	171	The entry reads: 'Buried a man blackamore lay in the street'
16		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	175	
17	<i>Registers of St Olave, Hart St.</i> , ed. Bruce Bannerman, p. 123.	http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	179	
18		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	176	
19		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm		

2. Burial Records

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Parish	Place	County	First name	Second name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Household	Record table cross reference	Archival Reference
20	1591	March	11	St Andrews	Plymouth	Devon	Lazia	Carbew	a Negro	M			PWDRO 358/6 MF1
21	1592	October	13	St Olave Tooley St	London		Iane	Blackman		F		Baptisms, no. 8.	LMA X097/233 P71/OLA/009 p.000126
22	1592	October	16	St Olave Tooley St	London		Edmund	Blackman		M		Baptisms, no. 8.	LMA X097/233 P71/OLA/009 p.000126
23	1593			St Olave Hart St	London		Monea		a blackamore	F			
24	1593	March	2	St Margarets	Lee, nr. Lewisham		Cornelius	Blacke	a more	M			Registers of St. Margaret's. Lee, Local Studies Centre
25	1593	August	8	St Botolph Aldgate	London		Suzanna	Pearis	a blackamoore	F	John Despiis		GL MS 9222/1
26	1593	August	20	St Botolph Aldgate	London		Symon	Valencia	a Blackmoore	M	Stephen Drifyeld		GL MS 9221; 9222/1
27	1593	August	20	St Martin in the Fields	Westminster		Thomas	Mori	a moore	M			WRO, St Martin in the Fields Parish Registers, vol.1.
28	1593	October	8	St Botolph Aldgate	London		Cassangoe		black A moore/ neagar/negar	M	Thomas Barber		GL MS 9222/1; GL MS 9234/4; GL MS 9223.
29	1593	November	29	St Botolph Aldgate	London		Robart		a Negar/blackamore/ black a moore	M	William Matthew		GL MS 9222/1, 9223, 9234/4
30	1594	April	14	St Andrews	Plymouth	Devon	Cristian			F	Richard Sheere	Baptisms, no. 9.	PWDRO 358/6 MF1]
31	1594	August	24	St Stephen, Coleman St	London		Katherin		the negar	F	Don Antonio, Prior of Crato	Household Accounts, nos. 108, 109.	GL MS 4448
32	1594	December	16	St Mary	Bluntisham-cum-Earith	Cambridgeshire	Dido	And	a More	F			County Record Office Huntingdon: HP5/1/1
33	1594	November	9	St Olave Hart St	London		Peter	Marley	a blacamore	M			GL MS 28867
34	1595	January	23	St Olave Hart St	London		George		a blacamore	M	Mrs Barker's		GL MS 28867
35	1595	July	1	St Nicholas	Bristol	Gloucestershire	Robert		a Blackamoore	M			BRO FCP/St N/R/1(b)2
36	1595	August	7	St Margaret's	Westminster		William	Harris	blackamoor	M			
37	1595	October	23	Chichester All Saints	Chichester	Sussex	Mary		blackamoor	F			?

2. Burial Records

Record number	Printed reference	Online reference	Habib Index	Notes
20	<i>St Andrews's Parish Register</i> , ed. Cruwys, p. 334.		177	
21			182	Father named as Reasonabel Blackman.
22			183	Father named as Reasonabel Blackman.
23	L. Picard, <i>Elizabeth's London</i> , p. 118.		186	
24	J. Anim-Addo, <i>Sugar, Spices and Human Cargo</i> , p. 6.		184	
25		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	189	'Despiis' was 'de Spiza', born in Spain, but with a French wife, and previously resident in France. In 1583, he was listed as a denizen, resident in Eastsmithfield. Habib, <i>Black Lives</i> , pp.85-6; Returns of Aliens, II, p.361.
26		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	190	Habib mistranscribes 'nedellmaker' as 'medalmaker' and finds Drifyeld's surname illegible.
27				
28		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	192, 193	Cassangoe was aged 20 at death. Two references to him have previously been mistaken for two seperate individuals.
29		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	195	Robart was 26 when he died of the plague. Matthew was 'a Jentelman dwelling in a garden being behynd Mr Quarles his howse and neare unto Hogg Lane in the libertie of Eastsmithfield'.
30	<i>St Andrews's Parish Register</i> , ed. Cruwys, p. 343.		197	Cristian was the daughter of Cristian, servant to Mr. Sheere, and so sister to Helene, baptised the year before.
31		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	198	
32		http://www.cambridgeshire.gov.uk/NR/rdonlyres/8E1DB2FA-2A44-49C3-B7E5-D969EF404EFA/0/crohbkHP5_1_1_11594.jpg		The website http://www.cambridgeshire.gov.uk/leisure/archives/online/breakingt hebarriers/barriers9.htm inaccurately refers to this as a baptism.
33	<i>Registers of St Olave, Hart St.</i> , ed. Bruce Bannerman, p. 127.		200	Peter Marley, a blacamore dire vira house
34	<i>Registers of St Olave, Hart St.</i> , ed. Bruce Bannerman, p. 128.	http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	204	
35				
36	<i>Registers of St Olave, Hart St.</i> , ed. Bruce Bannerman, p. 58.		207	
37				

2. Burial Records

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Parish	Place	County	First name	Second name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Household	Record table cross reference	Archival Reference
38	1596	March	3	St Botolph Aldgate	London		Frauncis		a Negar	M	Mr Peter Miller		GL MS 9234/6
39	1596	May	22	St Peters	Barnstaple	Devon	Peter	Mingus	negor	M	John rris		DRO MFC 46/6
40	1597	January	19	Holy Trinity	Dartford	Kent	Iferdynando		a blackmore	M	Alexander Neuby		
41	1597	April/May	24 April- 20 May	St Mary Woolchurch Haw	London				a blakmore	U	Mr John Davies	Baptisms, no. 37.	GL MS 7644
42	1598	June	9	St Clement Danes	Westminster		Bartholome w	Ferdinando	a blackmoore	M	Christopher Pierts		WRO, St Clements Danes Parish Registers, vol.1.
43	1598	August	23	St Michael	Southampton	Hampshire			A blacke more	U	Laurence Groce	Tax Returns, nos. 11, 16, Wills and Inventories, no. 3.	SRO PR 7/1/1, St Michael CMB 1552-1651 6/14
44	1598	November	23	St Olave Hart St	London		Madelen		a black more	U	Bernardes house		GL MS 28867
45	1599	January	22	St Stephen's	Bristol	Gloucestershire	John		niggar	M			BRO FCP/St S/R/1(a)6
46	1601	November	30	St Andrews	Plymouth	Devon			a Blackmore	U	Catain Sparks		PWDRO 358/6 MF2
47	1601	December	6	St Andrews	Plymouth	Devon	Mary		a Blackmore	F	William Stallenge		PWDRO 358/6 MF2
48	1602	January	21	St Clement Danes	Westminster		Fortunatus		a blackmoor	M	Sir Robert Cecil	Household Accounts, no. 116.	WRO, St Clements Danes Parish Registers, vol.1.
49	1602	February	22	Salisbury Cathedral	Salisbury	Dorset	Matthias		the Morian	M			?
50	1603	February	19		Gravesend	Kent	Frances		the Mullato	F?			?
51	1603	July	12	St Clement Danes	Westminster		Thomas		black	M	Harry Hartnall		WRO, St Clements Danes Parish Registers, vol.1.
52	1603	November	22	All Saints	Bisley	Gloucestershire	John	Davies	ye black	M		Baptisms, no. 37.	GRO P47 IN 1/1
53	1603	December	14	St Philip and St Jacob	Bristol	Gloucestershire	Joane	Smyth	a black Moore	F		Baptisms, no. 20.	BRO FCP/St P+J/R/1 (a) 4
54	1605	May	12	St Mary Magdalene	Stowell	Somerset	Galatia		the black nigra	F			
55	1605	June	6	St Michael Bassishaw	London		George		a blackamore	M	John Eldred		

2. Burial Records

Record number	Printed reference	Online reference	Habib Index	Notes
38		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	209	Francis died of scurvy, aged 26. Miller was 'a beare brewer dwelling at the signe of the hartes horne in the libertie of EastSmithfield.'
39			212	
40	Sherwood, 'Black History Month', <i>Faversham Society Newsletter</i> , no. 450 (October 2001).		218	
41		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	222	
42				
43				The entry reads: 'A blacke more from Mr.Gosse's house'
44	<i>Registers of St Olave, Hart St.</i> , ed. Bruce Bannerman, p. 131.	http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	229	
45				
46	<i>St Andrews's Parish Register</i> , ed. Cruwys, p. 383.		244	
47	<i>St Andrews's Parish Register</i> , ed. Cruwys, p. 384.		245	
48			247	
49			248	
50			253	
51				
52		http://www.irespect.net/history/Historic%20Records.htm	257	
53	Dresser, <i>Slavery Obscured</i> , p. 11.		258	Joane, the wife of Thomas Smyth, died of the plague, three years after her son Richard was baptised.
54	<i>Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries</i> , 3, no. 17 (1892), p. 6.			
55	<i>The Registers of St. Michael Bassishaw</i> , ed. Clarke, p. 170.			

2. Burial Records

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Parish	Place	County	First name	Second name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Household	Record table cross reference	Archival Reference
56	1605	July	8	St Peters	Barnstaple	Devon	Mary			F	Mrs Ayer	Baptisms, no. 28.	DRO MFC 46/6
57	1605	November	5	St Olave Tooley St	London		Constantyn		a negare	M			LMA X097/233
58	1607	December	12	St Peters	Barnstaple	Devon	Susanna			F			DRO MFC 46/6
59	1607	December	23	St John the Baptist	Hatherleigh	Devon	Rebecca			F		Baptisms, nos. 25, 32, 38.	DRO MF1
60	1609	March	5	St Mary Le Strand	Westminster				a Blackamoore mayd	F	Mr Stallenge		WRO, St Mary Le Strand Parish Registers, vol. 1.
61	1610	December	14	St Philip and St Jacob	Bristol	Gloucestershire	Peeter		a black Moore	M			BRO FCP/St P+J/R/1(a)]
62	1611	March	14	St Olave Hart St	London				the blackamore gerl	F	Francis Pinto		GL MS 28867
63	1611	August	18	St Mary	Truro	Cornwall	Maria	Mauri		F		Baptisms, no. 41.	CRO FP236/1/1, Fiche 3
64	1612	May	22	St Mary the Virgin	Hayes	Kent	Anthony	Harwoode		M		Baptisms, no. 39.	
65	1612	January	4	Christ Church	Bristol	Gloucestershire	Katherine		blacke negra	F			BRO FCP/Xch/R/1(a)4
66	1613	February	6	St John the Baptist	Hatherleigh	Devon	Horte			F		Baptisms, nos. 25, 32, 38.	DRO MF1
67	1614	January	12	St John the Baptist	Bristol	Gloucestershire	Francis		a blackmore	M			BRO FCP/St.JB/R/1(a)4
68	1614	July	24	St Botolph Aldgate	London		John	Matthewes	a black Moore	M	Mr. Kellett		GL MS 9222/1, f.521.
69	1616	June	19	St Andrew Undershaft	London		John	Fernando	a Blackmore	M	Edward Dickinson		GL MS 4107/1, f.330.
70	1616	August	2	St Dunstons in the West	London		Peter		a blackamore	M	Mrs Locksmith		GL MS 10342
71	1616	September	31	St Botolph Aldgate	London		Isabell	Peeters	a Black-more	F			GL MS 9222/1, f.542.
72	1617	January	28	St Olave Hart St	London		Mark	Antonie	a negro	M		Baptisms, no. 43.	GL MS 28867
73	1618	February	12	St George the Martyr	London		Philip		a Blackmore	M			LMA X092/030.
74	1618	April	27	St Botolph Aldgate	London		Anne	Vause	a black-more	F	James I at the Tower of London?		GL MS 9222/1
75	1618	November	23	St Mary	Dover	Kent			a blackamore	U	Captain Ward		Kent Family History Society, RP . 1404 MF 16.

2. Burial Records

Record number	Printed reference	Online reference	Habib Index	Notes
56			261	Mary was the daughter of 'Elysabeth a negro servante to Mrs Ayer'.
57			263	The entry records that Constantyn was 'a negare out of ye pylgrme of portmouthe'.
58				Susanna was described as 'ye childe of a negor'
59			267	Rebecca was described as 'a base daughter of Grace a Blackmoore', and thus was the sister of Horte, below, no. 66.
60				
61	Dresser, <i>Slavery Obscured</i> , p. 11.		276	
62	<i>Registers of St Olave, Hart St.</i> , ed. Bruce Bannerman, p. 143.		279	
63				Maria was the daughter of 'Emanueli Maurus Anglice (the Moore)'.
64		http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/records.aspx?cat=081-p180&cid=1-1-1#1-1-1		Anthony was 'the Bastarde sonne of Leonard Harwoode, the younger, being the reputed father, begotten of the body of [] a Blacke a Moore, in the house of his father Leonard Harwood in the pishe of Collman Street, nursed in the house of Rob Baker als Jackson of Heies'.
65	Dresser, <i>Slavery Obscured</i> , p. 11.		281	Katherine was 'servant at the horshed'. This was The Horsehead Tavern, Christmas Street.
66				Horte was 'the base daughter of Grace (a negro)' and thus the sister of Rebecca, above, no. 59.
67				
68		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	288	John was 'servant to Mr. Kellett in marke Lane'. Habib has a fuller account, and places this in St. Katherine by the Tower.
69		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm		
70		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	293	
71		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm		Isabell was 'lodging in Blew Anchor Alley'.
72	<i>Registers of St Olave, Hart St.</i> , ed. Bruce Bannerman, p. 30.	http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	291	'Mark Antonie, a negro Christian' had been baptised two days earlier. Habib misdates this entry to 1615/6.
73				I owe this reference to Kelechie Ezie.
74		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	301	The entry reads: 'Anne Vause, a black-more, wife to Anthonie Vause, Trompetter, of the said countrey'
75				

2. Burial Records

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Parish	Place	County	First name	Second name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Household	Record table cross reference	Archival Reference
76	1618	December	23	St Mary Le Strand	Westminster		James	Carreo	a Blackamoore	M			WRO, St Mary Le Strand Parish Registers, vol.1.
77	1619	June	13	St George the Martyr	London		Peter	Morisco	a Blackamore	M			LMA X092/030.
78	1619	June	1	St Andrew	Colyton	Devon	Katheren		a blackamoor	F	Sir William Pole		DRO
79	1620	April	10	St George the Martyr	London		John P	Daniell	a mullatow	M			LMA X092/030.
80	1621	February	5	St Martin in the Fields	Westminster		Franciscus		niger Maurus	M			WRO, St Martin in the Fields Parish Registers, vol.2.
81	1623	May	9	Holy Trinity	Chester	Cheshire	Manuell		negro or blackamore	M	Mrs Jane Johnson, widow		
82	1623	August	9	St Mary	Truro	Cornwall	Emmanuel	Mauri/the Moore	the Moore	M		Baptisms, no. 41.	CRO FP236/1/1, Fiche 3
83	1623	November	4	St Botolph Aldgate	London		Marie		a blackamoore woman	F			GL MS 9222/1
84	1623	November	26	St Botolph Aldgate	London		John-Come-Quicke		a blacke-moore	M	Thomas Love		GL MS 9222/1
85	1624	October	6	St Margarets	Westminster		Cattelina		blackamoor	F			WRO, St Margarets Parish Registers, vol.4.
86	1626			St Andrew	Ashburton	Devon			Aethiopus	M			
87	1630	May	18	St John	Hackney		Anthony		a Negro	M			LMA P79/JN1/021
88	1631	February	16	St Botolph Aldgate	London		Mary	Peters	blackamore	F			GL MS 9222/2, f.96.
89	1632	February	4	St Mary Major	Exeter	Devon	Thomas			M		Baptisms, no. 58.	DRO MF8
90	1632	February	4	St Augustine the Less	Bristol	Gloucestershire	Solomon		a blackmoor	M	William Hayman		BRO FCP/St.Aug/R/1(a)3
91	1632	September	12	St Augustine the Less	Bristol	Gloucestershire	Marye		blackamoor	F	William Edmonds		BRO FCP/St.Aug/R/1(a)3
92	1632	September	28	St Augustine the Less	Bristol	Gloucestershire	Grace	Claun	a Blakmoor	F			BRO FCP/St.Aug/R/1(a)3
93	1639	December	1	St Margarets	Topsham	Devon	Ffaith			F		Baptisms, no. 66.	[DRO MF3]
94	1640	August	19	St Andrews	Plymouth	Devon			a neagor	U	Abraham Jennings		PWDRO 358/6 MF6

2. Burial Records

Record number	Printed reference	Online reference	Habib Index	Notes
76				
77				I owe this reference to Kelechie Ezie.
78			306	
79				I owe this reference to Kelechie Ezie.
80				
81				I was sent this reference by Kathy Chater, who found it in the Society of Genealogists' material.
82				Possibly linked to 'Emmanuel Bartlett als Portugall', a Portuguese man recorded in the parish at this time?
83		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	320	Marie 'died in the street'.
84		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm	321	The entry reads: 'John Come Quicke, a blacke-moore so named, servant to Thomas Love, a Captaine'
85				
86	West Country Studies Library, Ashburton Parish Register, transcribed by F. Nesbitt (1930-31), VI, Burials, 1603-1685.			
87		http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/tudorhackney/localhistory/qs1.asp?WNum=12	337	Anthony was 'a poore ould Negro, aged 105'.
88		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm		Mary was 'a poore blackamore woman at Tower Hill'.
89			340	Thomas was 'the sonne of a Blackmore'. He had only been baptised 9 days earlier.
90	Dresser, <i>Slavery Obscured</i> , p. 11.		339	
91	Dresser, <i>Slavery Obscured</i> , p.11.		344	
92				
93				Ffaith was the 'daughter of Mary a Blackmore a bastard child.' She had been baptised two years earlier.
94			362	

3. Marriages

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Parish	Place	Groom's name	Groom's Ethnic Descriptor	Bride's name	Bride's Ethnic Descriptor	Archival/Printed Reference	Record table cross reference	Habit Index	Notes
1	1608	July	10	St Dunstan and All Saints	Stepney	Peter	niger	Mary	niger	<i>The Marriage Registers of St. Dunstan's, Stepney</i> , ed. T. Colyer-Fergusson, I, p. 70.			
2	1609	February	13	St Dunstan and All Saints	Stepney	John Mens	niger	Luce Pluatt	niger	<i>The Marriage Registers of St. Dunstan's, Stepney</i> , ed. T. Colyer-Fergusson, I, p. 72.			
3	1610	September	3	St Dunstan and All Saints	Stepney	Salomon Cowdrer	niger	Katheren Castillian	niger	<i>The Marriage Registers of St. Dunstan's, Stepney</i> , ed. T. Colyer-Fergusson, I, p. 78.			Cowdrer was a 'sailor'.
4	1613	December	26	St Nicholas	Greenwich	Samuel Munsur	a blackamoure	Jane Johnson		LMA P78/NIC/001	Baptisms, no. 42.	287	
5	1616	October	25	All Saints	Staplehurst, Kent	George	blackamoor	Marie Smith		CKS, P347/1/1, f. 108.	Baptisms, nos. 44, 48.	295	Habib misdates this marriage to 15 October.
6	1617	December	24	Holy Trinity the Less	London	James Curres	Moore	Margaret Person		GL MS 9155		299	Described as 'A Moore Christian'. Online at: http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm

4. Tax Returns

Record number	Year	Parish/Ward	Place	Number of Africans referred to	Name/s	Ethnic Descriptor/s	Sex	Household	Archival Reference
1	1522	St Petrock	Exeter	1	Peter Blackmore	a moren borne	M		
2	1567	Vintry	London	2	Robert Tego, Francys Fran	Morisco/Moryon	M	Thomas Castlyn; Peter Fanall	BL, Lansdowne MS 10, ff.16-60, no.5.
3	1568	St Botolph's Aldersgate	London	1	Lambert Waterson	barbaryen/Barbarien	M	Gabriell Levesy	
4	1576	Tower	London	1	Elizabeth	a neger	F	Ferdinando Alvarez	
5	1581	All Hallows, Staining	London	1	Ferdinando Negro	none	M		
6	1582	All Saints, Staining	London	1	Fardinando	a Blackamore	M	Baptista Sambitores	
7	1582	St Olave Hart St	London	2	Gratia; Elizabeth	a neger	F	Hector Nunez	
8	1593	Farringdon without	London	3		blackamoor	F	Paul Bayning	
9	1594	Holy Rood	Southampton	8		negro/e/es	U	John Andrewes(1); John Sedgewicke (3); Margaret Holmes, widow (1); Richard Beiston(1); Richard Daye (2).	TNA E179/174/415
10	1595	Portsmouth town and liberties	Portsmouth	1		negro	?	Richard Whytinge	TNA E179/247/20
11	1598	Holy Rood; St Laurence; St Michael and St John	Southampton	10	Maudlin (John Andrewes)	negro/os	mixed . At least 2F.	Holy Rood: John Andrews(Maudlin his negro); John Sedgewicke (his two negro maides); Margaret Holmes; Richard Daye; John Caplin; Richard Cornellis; St Laurence: Laurence Groce; St Michael and St. John: Emmanuel Barton; [Peter] Edwardes.	TNA E179/174/432

4. Tax Returns

Record number	Printed reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
1	<i>Tudor Exeter Tax Assessments 1489-1599</i> , ed. Rowe, p.18.			billman'
2	<i>Returns of Aliens</i> , I, 323, 336.		129	Fran and Tego are likely to be the 'Niger' and 'Blackmor' recorded in Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London's survey of strangers of 15 December 1567: S. Haynes, <i>A Collection of State Papers, Relating to Affairs... from the Year 1542 to 1570</i> (1740), I, pp. 455, 457, 460, 461.
3	<i>Returns of Aliens</i> , III, 407.		131	Habib Index, no. 131, confuses Aldersgate for Aldgate.
4	<i>Returns of Aliens</i> , II, 161.	Court Records, no. 15.		This entry has hitherto been obscured because Kirk's Index lists them under 'Aneger', as if it were a surname, not a descriptor.
5	<i>Returns of Aliens</i> , II, 220.			See also <i>Returns of Aliens</i> , I, 384, 419; II, 170, 272; III, 349.
6	<i>Returns of Aliens</i> , II, 235; <i>Two Tudor Subsidy Rolls</i> , ed. Lang, pp. 259-69.		151	
7	<i>Returns of Aliens</i> , II, 279; E.Samuel, 'Nunes, Hector' (1520-1591), <i>ODNB</i>	Burials, nos. 13, 17, Court Records, no. 10.		This entry has hitherto been obscured because Kirk's Index to the <i>Returns of Aliens</i> lists them under 'Aneger', as if it were a surname, not a descriptor.
8	<i>Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis</i> , ed. Scoloudi, p. 149.	Baptisms, no. 22; Court Records, no. 22; Wills and Inventories, no. 4.	185	
9	<i>Central Hampshire Lay Subsidy Assessments, 1558-1603</i> , ed. Vick, pp. 32-38.	Court Records, no. 11.		For Sedgewicke see TNA REQ 2/271/19
10	<i>East Hampshire Lay Subsidy Assessments, 1558-1603</i> , ed. Vick, p. 74.			For Richard Whiting's will of 20 November 1592, see HRO 1593B/85/1.
11	<i>Central Hampshire Lay Subsidy Assessments, 1558-1603</i> , ed. Vick, pp. 32-38.	Court Records, no. 11.		Groce: Burials, no. 43; Wills and Inventories, no. 3.

4. Tax Returns

Record number	Year	Parish/Ward	Place	Number of Africans referred to	Name/s	Ethnic Descriptor/s	Sex	Household	Archival Reference
12	1598	All Hallows, Barking	London	4	Lewse; Marea; Clar; Maria.	a negro; 3 negras	M+3F	Mr. Miton's; Mr. Woodes; Widow Stokes; Olyver Skynnars.	TNA, E179/146/395
13	1598	Trinity	Hull	1	Anna?	negra	F	Bartholomew Burnett	TNA E179/204/346
14	1599	All Hallows, Barking	London	3	; Clare; Mary	a blackamore; 2 negras	M?+2 F	Jeronimo Lopez; Widow Stokes; Richaes Woodes.	TNA E179/146/390
15	1599	Portsmouth town and liberties	Portsmouth	3	Fs= An...; Jos...	negro	1M 2F	Edmund L...(illegible)	TNA E179/174/445
16	1599	Holy Rood; St Laurence; St Michael and St John	Southampton	9	Maudlin (John Andrewes)	negro/e/es/o/os; blackmore	2F, U	Holy Rood: John Andrewes (Maudlin his negro); John Sedgewicke (his two negroes); Margaret Holmes (her negro) John Caplin; Richard Cornellis; St Laurence: Laurence Groce (his blackmore); St Michael and St John: Peter Edwardes('s negro); William Governor (his negro).	TNA E179/174/446
17	1599	Trinity	Hull	1	Anna?	neager	F	Bartholomew Burnett	TNA E179/204/349
18	1600	Trinity	Hull	1	Anna	negro	F	Bartholomew Burnett	TNA E179/204/350
19	1600	Holy Rood; St Michael and St John	Southampton	6		negro	U	Holy Rood: Margaret Andrewes; John Sedgewicke; Margaret Holmes; St Michael and St John: Peter Edwardes; William Governor; John Jeffery	TNA E179/174/444
20	1611	Holy Rood	Southampton	1		neger	U	Ffrancis Caplin	TNA E179/175/488

4. Tax Returns

Record number	Printed reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
12	<i>Returns of Aliens</i> , III, 28.	For Maria at Sykynnars see Court Records nos. 17, 18.	228	Miller, 'Negroes in Elizabethan London', p. 138.
13				This is presumably the same woman, named Anna in the 1600 return, as in records 17 and 18 below.
14	<i>Returns of Aliens</i> , III, 54-55.		233	
15	<i>East Hampshire Lay Subsidy Assessments, 1558-1603</i> , ed. Vick, p. 75.			
16	<i>Central Hampshire Lay Subsidy Assessments, 1558-1603</i> , ed. Vick, pp. 32-38.	Court Records, no. 11.		
17				
18				
19	<i>Central Hampshire Lay Subsidy Assessments, 1558-1603</i> , ed. Vick, pp. 32-38.	Court Records, no. 11.		
20	<i>Central Hampshire Lay Subsidy Assessments, 1558-1603</i> , ed. Vick, pp. 32-38.			

5. Household Accounts

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Country	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Occupation	Household
1	1501	February	13	Edinburgh	Scotland	Peter	the Moryen	M	courtier	King James IV
2	1501	March	12	Edinburgh	Scotland	Peter	the Moryen	M	courtier	King James IV
3	1501	May	2	Edinburgh	Scotland	Peter	the Moryen	M	courtier	King James IV
4	1504	January	12	Edinburgh	Scotland	Peter	the More	M	courtier	King James IV
5	1504	January	27	Edinburgh	Scotland	Peter Morien	Morien?	M	courtier	King James IV
6	1504	January	30	Edinburgh	Scotland	Pete	the More	M	courtier	King James IV
7	1504	February	24	Edinburgh	Scotland	Peter	the Moryen	M	courtier	King James IV
8	1504	March	9	Edinburgh	Scotland	Peter	the Moryen	M	courtier	King James IV
9	1504	April	12	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moryen	M	drummer	King James IV
10	1504	May	3	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
11	1504	May	9	Edinburgh	Scotland	Peter	the More	M	courtier	King James IV
12	1504	May	19	Edinburgh	Scotland	Peter	the Morien	M	courtier	King James IV
13	1504	May	21	Edinburgh	Scotland	Peter	the Morien	M	courtier	King James IV
14	1504	June	13	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Morien	M	drummer	King James IV
15	1504	June	21	Edinburgh	Scotland	Peter	the Morien	M	courtier	King James IV
16	1504	July	4	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
17	1504	July	4	Edinburgh	Scotland	Peter	the More	M	courtier	King James IV
18	1504	July	27	Edinburgh	Scotland	Peter	the More	M	courtier	King James IV
19	1504	August	1	Edinburgh	Scotland	Peter	the More	M	courtier	King James IV
20	1504	August	7	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
21	1504	September	11	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
22	1504	September	13	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
23	1504	September	13	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
24	1504	September	26	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
25	1504	October	7	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
26	1504	October	15	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV

5. Household Accounts

Record number	Full text	Archival/printed Reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
1	Item to Petir the Moryen, the samyn day, be the Kingis command xxviiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 97.		2	
2	Item, be the Kingis command, to the Moryen, xv s iiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 99.		3	Habib notes iij s not iiij s.
3	Item... giffin to Petir the Moryen, quhen he passit his way in France be the Kingis command, five French crounis summa. iij li. x s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 106.		4	
4	Item, to Petir the More, in his pensioun, xiiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 415.		9	
5	Item, to Peter Morien, in his pensioun, xiiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 417.		10	
6	Item, for ane steik chamlot, to Pete the More, v. li; Item for ane pair of maid hose to him, ix s; Item, to him, to lyne his cote and mak the samyn and bordour his hos, xiiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 318.		11	Habib notes the 'steik chamlot' but overlooks following entries.
7	Item... to Petir the Moryen, to fee him ane horse, to Dumfreis, vij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 420.		12	
8	Item... to Petir the Moryen, in his pensioun, xiiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 422.		13	
9	Item, be the Kingis command, to the Moryen taubronar, v Franch crounis, summa iij li. x s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 427.		14	Habib notes v li xij s.
10	Item... to the More taubronar, to his expens maid be the Morienis, viij France crounis, summa v li xij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 430.		15	Habib notes vij French crowns.
11	Item, to Petir the More in his pensoun, xxviiij s; and sa payit xj Franch crounis.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 432.		16	
12	Item, be the Kingis command to Petir the Morien, ix s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 434.		17	
13	Item, to Peter the Morien, to fee him ane horse, and to pay for his lugeing in Striveling, ix s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 435.		18	
14	Item, to the Morien taubronar, xiiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 439.		19	
15	Item, to Petir the Morien, to cum again fra the King fra Hammiltoun, xiiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 442.		20	
16	Item, in Linlithqw, to the More taubronar, to fee him hors to Strivelin, and to pay for his lugeing in Linlithqw, xiiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 444.		22	
17	Item, to Petir the More, be the Kingis command, ij s. iiij d.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 444.		21	Habib notes iij s iiij d.
18	Item, to Petir the More, be the Kingis command, vij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 449.		23	
19	Item, to Petir the More, for to pas his way for ever, be the Kingis command, iij li.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 450.		24	Habib notes iij ii.
20	Item... to the four Italien menstrales, and the More taubronar, to fe thaim hors in Eskdale, v Franche crounis; summa iij li, x s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 451.		25	
21	Item, to the four Italien menstrales, and the More taubronar, to thair expens, and for thair expens in Dumfries, vj Franch crounis; summa iiij li. iiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 457.		26	
22	Item, to the four Italien menstrales, and the More taubronar, to fee thaim hors to Peblis, xxviiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 458.		28	
23	Item, for ane hors to the More taubronar, bocht fra Pete Johne, trumpat, be the Kingis command, vj Franch crounis; summa iiij li. iiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 458.		27	Habib notes iiij li. iij s.
24	Item... be the Kingis command, to the more taubronar, to red his lugeing and expens in Faukland, vs xd.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 459.		29	
25	Item, to the four Italien menstrales and the More taubronar, to thair hors met, to pas to the Month with the King, xlv s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 461.		30	Habib notes xliij s.
26	Item... in Brechin, to the four Italien menstrales and the Mour taubronar, to thair hors met, xlv s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 462.		31	Habib notes xliij s.

5. Household Accounts

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Country	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Occupation	Household
27	1504	October	29	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
28	1504	November	7	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More lasses	F	courtiers?	King James IV
29	1504	November	7	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Mores	F?	courtiers?	King James IV
30	1504	November	14	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
31	1504	November	27	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More lasses	F	courtiers?	King James IV
32	1504	December	11	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More las	F	courtier?	King James IV
33	1505	February	1	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
34	1505	February	3	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
35	1505	February	13	Edinburgh	Scotland		the tua Moris	F	courtiers?	King James IV
36	1505	March	23	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moryen	M	drummer	King James IV
37	1505	May	5	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
38	1505	July	3	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moris	U		King James IV
39	1505	September	22	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moris	F	courtiers?	King James IV
40	1505	October	1	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
41	1505	November	11	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
42	1505	November	18	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moris	F?	courtiers?	King James IV

5. Household Accounts

Record number	Full text	Archival/printed Reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
27	Item, in Strethbogy, to the menstrales and the More, to thair hors met, xiiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 464.		32	
28	Item, for hors to the More lasses and for cariage hors to the bestis to the Quenis Fery and syne to Inverkethin, and for their fraucht to the Fery, x s viij d.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 465.		33	
29	Item, to Mosman, potingair, to red the Mores expens, the Portingall hors and bestis and folkis with thaim, in Inverketh, xxx s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 465.		34	Habib notes Portingair, not potingair, which may lead the reader to mistake the apothecary John Mosman for a Portuguese man. See <i>ALHTS</i> , II, lxxviii and Index entry for Mosman.
30	Item, to the More taubronar, be the Kingis command, to his cheldis expens the tyme the King wes at the Month, xiiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 466.		35	
31	Item, to ane woman that tursit the More lasses fra Dunfermylne to Edinburgh, iiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 468.		36	
32	Item, quhen the More las wes cristinit, giffin to put in the candill, ix s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 469.		37	
33	Item, to the More taubronar, xxviiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 472.		38	
34	Item, for xij cotis and xij pair hos half Scottis blak half quhit to xij dansaris be the More taubronaris devis agane Fastingis Evin, be the Kingis command, xiiij li, ij s, x d.	<i>ALHTS</i> , II, 477.		39	
35	Item, for ix 1/2 elne grene carsay to be tua gownis to the tua Moris; ilk elne iiij s, vj d. summa xlvij s iiij d.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 94.		40	possibly x 1/2 elne, do the maths...
36	Item, be the Kingis command, to the Moryen taubronar to pay for the paynting of his taubroun, xxviiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 132.		41	Habib notes 'the More' not 'the Moryen'.
37	Item, to the More taubronar, his quartar fee siclike, iiij li, vj s, vj d.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 118.		42	There are two almost identical entries on this page.
38	Item, to William Wod, for the fraucht of the Portugall quhit hors, the must cat, and the jennet and the Moris, xii li.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 148.		43	Habib notes xij ii.
39	Item... for vij elne russait to the Moris; ilk elne vj s viij d, summa xl s; Item for x elne yallo carsay to be tua gownis to the samyn; ilk elne iiij s vj d, summa xlv s; Item, for vij elne rede carsay to be tua kirtillis to thaim; ilk elne iiij s vj d, summa xxxj s vj d; Item for lynyn claith and mailyeis to thir four gownis and tua kirtillis, ij s v d; Item for half ane elne wellus to hir [Merjory Lindesay] gown and the Moris gownis, xxij s; Item, for x 1/2 elne Bertane clath to be sarkis to the Moris, ilk elne ij s, summa xxj s; Item, for ij elne Holland claith to be thaim collaris, vj s; item, for ribanes to be beltis to the Moris, iiij s vj d; Item for ane elne trailyee to thaim to lyne thair gown sleffis, iiij s vj d; Item for tua pair hos to thaim, iiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 101.		44	Habib only transcribes the first of the ten items on this page relating to the More lasses' clothing.
40	Item... to the Italien menstrales and the More taubronar, be the Kingis command, vj Franch crounis, summa iiij li, iiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 163.		45	Habib notes iiij li. iijs.
41	Item, to the More taubronar, his quartar pensioun sic like, iiij li, vj s, vj d.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 121.		46	
42	Item, for schone to la[d]y Margreit, the Kingis dochtir, in the Castell, Marjorie Lindesay, and the Moris, tane at divers tymes, xx s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 172.		62	Habib misdates this entry to 27 November 1506.

5. Household Accounts

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Country	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Occupation	Household
43	1505	November	26	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
44	1505	December	8	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moris	F?	courtiers?	King James IV
45	1506	February	2	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
46	1506	February	7	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moris	F?	courtiers?	King James IV
47	1506	February	12	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
48	1506	February	14	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moris	F	baby	King James IV
49	1506	April	11	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moris lasses	F	courtiers?	King James IV
50	1506	April	14	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
51	1506	May	1	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
52	1506	May	4	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moris	F?	courtiers?	King James IV
53	1506	June	2	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
54	1506	July	9	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
55	1506	July	19	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
56	1506	August	1	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
57	1506	August	9	Edinburgh	Scotland		the tua Moris	F?	courtiers?	King James IV
58	1506	August	10	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
59	1507	January	5	Edinburgh	Scotland		the tua Moris	F?	courtiers?	King James IV
60	1507	February	1	Edinburgh	Scotland		the blak lady	F	courtier	King James IV
61	1507	February	26	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moris	F?	courtiers?	King James IV

5. Household Accounts

Record number	Full text	Archival/printed Reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
43	Item, for v elne tanne to the More taubronar, ilk elne xij s iiij d, summa iij li, vj s, viij d; Item for ij elne iij quartaris Birge satin to him, xxvij s vjd; Item, for ane pair of hos to him, xij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 108-9.		47	Habib only notes the first of these three items.
44	Item... to Schir Patrik Crechtoun, capitane of Edinburgh [Castell], for the barnis expens, and with hir Marjory Lindesay and the Moris and servandis, for ane yeir, j ^c li.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 175.		63	Habib misdates this entry to 7 December 1506.
45	Item, to the More taubronar siclike his quartar fee, iij li, vij s, vj d.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 122.		48	Habib misdates this entry to 1 January.
46	Item.. For butis [and] schone to Cristofer and Lady Mergret in the Castell, and the Moris, and to Curry sen Alhallo day bipast, xxxj s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 182.		49	This page (including next two entries) can be viewed online at: http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/early_times/transcripts/accts_p182.htm
47	Item...to the More taubronar, be command, xxvij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 182.		50	
48	Item, to the nuris that brocht the Moris barne to see, be the Kingis command, xxvij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 182.		51	Habib misdates this entry to 12 February.
49	Item, for ij pair grene carsay hos to the Moris lasses, vj s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 113.		52	
50	Item, to the More taubronar, Guilliam, taubronar, Adam Boyd, his son, Ansle, Guilliamis man, taubronaris, ilk man ix s, summa liij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 190.		53	
51	Item, to the More taubronar his quartar fee to cum sic like, iij li, vij s, vj d.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 124.		54	Guilliam is paid the same on same day.
52	Item, for vj paris schone to Marjory Lindesay and the Moris with hir, iij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 114.		55	
53	Item... to the More taubronar to the mendis of the hurting of him, for the menstres, x Franch crounis, summa vij li.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 197.		56	
54	Item... agane the Kingis saling to Maij, for v elne yellow for ane cote to the More taubronar, ilk elne vj s, summa xxx s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 115.		57	
55	Item...to [More taubronar] his leich, be the Kingis command, ix s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 206.		58	
56	Item, to the More taubronar, his wage of this moneth of August allanerly, xxix s ij d.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 126.		59	
57	Item, to John Davidson, cordonar, for schone tane fra him to Lady Mergret the Kingis dochtir and Marjory Lindesay and the tua Moris fra Candilmes to this day, xvj s ij d.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 154-5.		60	Habib misdates this entry to 6 August.
58	Item... to the More taubronar and to his leich quhen he wes hurt, xxxv s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 330.		61	
59	Item, to the capitane of Edinburghes wif for lady Mergetis burd ane yeir, and with hir Marjory Lindesay and the tua Moris, j ^c li.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 361.		64	
60	Item, for tua quaris gold to illumyn the articules send in France for the justing of the wild knyght for the blak lady, x s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 365.		65	It has been argued that this 'blak lady' is merely a white woman in disguise. See Fraudenberg...
61	Item, to the said Johne [Davidson] for schone to the lady in the Castell, Marjory Lindesay and the Moris, Norne, and the Spanyart at divers tymes, xxiiij s, iij d.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 370-1.		66	Habib notes iii d not iij d.

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Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Country	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Occupation	Household
62	1507	March	24	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More	M	drummer	King James IV
63	1507	May	15	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moris	F?	courtiers?	King James IV
64	1507	May	22	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moris	M	drummer?	King James IV
65	1507	June	15	Edinburgh	Scotland		the blak lady	F	courtier	King James IV
66	1507	August	10	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moris	F?	courtiers?	King James IV
67	1507	August	21	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moris	M	drummer	King James IV
68	1507	August	24	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moris	F?	courtiers?	King James IV
69	1507	November	3	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moris	F?	courtiers?	King James IV
70	1507	November	8	Edinburgh	Scotland		the tua Moris	F?	courtiers?	King James IV
71	1507	December	3	Edinburgh	Scotland		the tua Moris	F	courtiers?	King James IV
72	1507	December	7	Westminster	England	John Blanke	the blacke	M	trumpeter	King Henry VII

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Record number	Full text	Archival/printed Reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
62	Item... to the More taubronaris wife and his barne, xiiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 377.		67	
63	Item, to the said Johne [Davidson] for schone and butis to Cristofer, Andro Home, the franch boy, litil Martin, Norne, John Bute, the Moris and Marjory Lindesay, iij li, x s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 387.		68	
64	Item, to the Moris wif and his barne, be command, xiiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 388.		69	
65	Item, xxiiij elne taffeti for the chair triumphale for the blak lady, quhilk taffeti wes of the Flandrez taffeti befor writin; Item for xxiiij elne cammes to lyne the samyn; ilk elne xv s, summa iij li, vij s vj d; Item for making of the samyn, xiiij s... Item, xiiij elne j quartar quhit dames of England to tua half cotis to Maister William Ogilvy and Alexander Elphinstoun to be squeris to the blak lady, and sa all that quhit dames spendit... Item, for vj 1/2 elne and half ane quartar dames flourit with gold, to be ane gown for the blak lady, ilk elne iij li, xv s, summa xxix li xxij d; Item, for ij 1/2 elne yallo taffeti to it, bocht in Flandrez, and tua and ane half grene taffeti bocht in Flandrez to the bordouring of the samyn; Item, for ij elne plesance to be sleffis abone hir blak sleffis, iij s; Item, for ane pair of blak sleffis and gluffis to her of blak seymys leder, iij s; Item, for ix elne plesance to hir couch about hir arme, xvij s; Item for xj elne of green taffeti of Flandrez to be gownis to hir tua ladyis; and three elne yallo taffeti of Flandrez to bordour the samyn.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 258-259.		70	Habib only transcribes the first two of the many items on this date relating to the blak lady, and so omits the entries regarding sleeves.
66	Item, to the said Johne [Davidson] for schone, butis to Cristofer, Andro Home, litill Martin the Spanyart, the Franch boy, Nornee, John Bute, the Moris and Merjory Lindesay sen Beltane bipast, xliij s, iij d.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 409.		71	
67	Item, for the Moris taubroun to Guilliam, xxxvj s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 335.			
68	Item, to Johne Davidson for schone to the lady Mergreit in the Castell, the tua Moris, Marjory Lindesay, litil Martin, John Bute, and Norne, divers tymes, xvij s, iij d.	<i>ALHTS</i> , III, 336.		72	Habib notes iii d not iij d.
69	Item, for schone to Marjory Lindesay and the Moris, iij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 82.		73	
70	Item... for iij pairis hos to Merjory Lindesay and the tua Moris, viij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 51.		74	Habib misdates this entry to 7 November.
71	Item, for vij elne Scottis russet to the tua Moris, ilk elne viij s, summa lvj s; Item for ix elne grene carsay to be thre kirtillis to the said thre madinnis [including Marjory Lindsay mentioned above], ilk elne iij s vj d, summa xl s vj d; Item for ij elne lynyn clath to thair kirtill, ij s; Item, for malyeis to thair clathis, vj d.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 59.		75	Habib only notes the first of these four items. The reference here to 'maidens' and the type of clothes bought makes it very likely that this, and other references to 'the tua Moris' are to women.
72	Item, to John blanke the blacke Trumpet for his moneth wages of Novembre last passed, at viij d the day, xx s.	TNA, E 36/214, f.109.		76	Habib omits the total paid of 20 s. The document can be viewed online at: http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/early_times/docs/blank_payment.htm

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Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Country	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Occupation	Household
73	1508	January	1	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moris	F?	courtiers?	King James IV
74	1508	February	8	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moris	F?	courtiers?	King James IV
75	1508	February	14	Edinburgh	Scotland		the Moris	F?	courtiers?	King James IV
76	1508	March	28	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More freris	M	friars	visitors?
77	1508	April	25	Edinburgh	Scotland		the blak More freris	M	friars	visitors?
78	1508	May	8	Edinburgh	Scotland		the tua Moris?	F?	courtiers?	King James IV
79	1508	May	10	Edinburgh	Scotland		the blak lady	F	courtier?	King James IV
80	1508	May	31	Edinburgh	Scotland		the blak lady	F	courtier?	King James IV
81	1508	June	27	Edinburgh	Scotland		the blak lady	F	courtier?	King James IV
82	1508	August	5	Edinburgh	Scotland		the More freris	M	friars	visitors?
83	1509	May	11	London	England	John Blanke		M	trumpeter	King Henry VIII
84	1509	June	24	London	England	John Blanke		M	trumpeter	King Henry VIII
85	1509			London	England	Catalina de Cardones		F	maid of honour	Katherine of Aragon

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Record number	Full text	Archival/printed Reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
73	Item, for iij elne lynen to be collaris to Merjory Lindesay and the Moris, ilk elne ij s, summa vj s; Item, for xv elne lynyn to be sarkis to thaim, xv s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 61.		77	Habib only notes the first of these two items.
74	Item, to the Moris and Marjory Lindesay for schone the said tyme, vj s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 100.		79	
75	Item, for iij pair hos to Merjory Lindesay and the Moris, viiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 62.		78	Habib misdates this entry to 7 February and notes viij s not viiij s.
76	Item... for xvj elne quhit carsay to be tua kirtillis to the More freris, ilk elne iiiij s vj d, simma iij li xij s; Item, for viij elne iij quartaris Scottis blak to be capes to thaim, ilk elne viij s, summa iij li, x s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 62.		80	Habib only notes the first of these two items.
77	Item, to the blak More freris, vj Franch crounis, iiiij li iiiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 112.		81	Habib also lists a payment to 'the blak freris in Elimose' in November 1508, and another 'deliverit to the Master Maxwell to the blak freris' in August 1512, but these seem more likely to be references to Black friars, i.e Dominicans, especially as the August 1508 payment suggests the African friars had already left court by that date. <i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 178 and 191; Habib Index nos. 86 and 92.
78	Shoes and boots... to the two Moors (editor's abbreviation).	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 116.		82 n.	Habib only mentions this in a note.
79	Item, for vij elne demy Ostad grene to be ane kirtill to the blak lady, ilk elne iij s, summa xxj s; Item, for iiiij elne blak gray to lyne the samyn, iiiij s viij d; Item, for iij quartaris lynyn clath to it, ix d; Item, for malyeis of it, ij d; Item, for j pair blak sleffis to hir of semys leddir and gluffis, iij s; Item, for xxj elne Plesance to hir couchis at divers tymes, xxij s; Item, for xij 1/2 elne Birge satin to be tua gownis to the blak ladyis madinnis, ilk elne x s, summa vj li v s; Item, for vj quartaris lynyn clath to thaim, xviiij d; Item, ij 1/2 elne of the Kingis taffetj yallo to bordour thaim.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 64.		82	Habib only notes the first of these eight items.
80	Item... to the xiiij men that bure the blak lady fra the Castell to the barres and syne to the Abbay, xxviiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 119.		83	
81	Item, for bukkilling and grathing of Martin and the blak lady agane the bancat, xiiij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 129.		84	
82	Item... to Johne Knox for the expens of the More freris quhen tha wer heir, xiiij li.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 139.		85	
83	The kings trumpets...John Blank.	<i>L&P, Henry VIII</i> , 1509-1514, p.14.			Illustration no. 1.
84	The kings trumpets...John Banke.	<i>L&P, Henry VIII</i> , 1509-1514, p.43.			Illustration no. 1.
85	exclava que fue de la dicha reyna	<i>Cronica del rey Enrique Octavo de Inglaterra</i> , ed. Marues de Molins, appendix B and C, pp. 325, 329.	Diaries and Letters, no. 1.		

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Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Country	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Occupation	Household
86	1511	December	15	Edinburgh	Scotland	Elen More	More	F	courtier?	King James IV
87	1512	January	1	Edinburgh	Scotland	Elen Moire	Moire	F	courtier?	King James IV
88	1512	January	14	Greenwich	England	John Blak		M	trumpeter	King Henry VIII
89	1512	February	6	Edinburgh	Scotland	Elen More	More	F	courtier?	King James IV
90	1512	March	28	Edinburgh	Scotland		more	M?	messenger?	Bishop of Moray
91	1512	April	5	Linlithgow	Scotland	Margaret Moire	Moire	F	courtier?	King James IV
92	1512	December	2	Edinburgh	Scotland		blak madin	F	maid?	King James IV
93	1513	January	1	Edinburgh	Scotland		blak ladeis	F	courtiers?	King James IV
94	1513	February	3	Edinburgh	Scotland	Ellene	blak	F	courtier?	King James IV
95	1513	May	31	Edinburgh	Scotland	Elene	blak	F	courtier?	King James IV
96	1513	July	19	Edinburgh	Scotland	Margaret	blak	F	courtier?	King James IV
97	1527	August	27	Edinburgh	Scotland	Helenor	the blak moir	F	courtier?	King James V
98	1559-1561			Wanstead, Essex	England		moore	M?	musician	Earl of Leicester
99	1568	February		Edinburgh	Scotland	Nageir	the moir	M	courtier?	James Stewart, Earl of Moray

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Record number	Full text	Archival/printed Reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
86	Item...for hir leveray goune agane Yule, iiij 1/2 elnis Rissillis broun; price elne xxvj s viij d, summa vj li; Item, to pursele the sam, v quartar weluus, price lv s; Item, tua 1/2 elnis taffatis to lyne the sclewey of the said goune, price elne xij s, summa xxx s; Item, to be hir sclewey undir the sam goune, ane elne yallow taffatis, price xliij s; Item, to be hir ane hud, ane elne weluus, price xliij s; Item, to be hir ane kirtill, twa elnis Inglis broun, price elne xix s, summa xxxviij s; Item, for ane hem of cramesy claith to it, ij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 232.		87	Habib only notes the first of these seven items.
87	Item, to Elen Moire, v Franche crounis, iij li, x s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 324.		88	
88	Warrant to the Great Wardrobe to deliver John Blak, 'our trompeter' a gown of violet cloth, &c., including a bonnet and a hat, 'to be taken of our gift against his marriage.'	E 101/417/6, ms. 50; <i>L&P, Henry VIII</i> , 1509-1514, p. 505, no. 1025.		89	
89	Item... fra William Hoppar to be hir ane goune with narrow sclewey, iiij elnis Rowane tanne, price elne xliij s, summa lvj s; Item to the sam goune, ane elne welvot, price xliij s; Item, to John Davidsonsone, cordinare, for foure pair of schone deliverit to the said Elene within the time of this compt, ix s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 232.			Habib overlooks these entries for February, despite having noted the expediture for December on the same page, in his no. 87.
90	Item... to the Bischop of Murrais more, at brocht ane present to the King, efter his command, xliij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 338.		90	
91	Item, to Margaret Moire, in Linlithqow, xliij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 339.		91	
92	Item... for iiij elnis ane quartar Franche russet to the Quenis blak madin, ilk elne xvij s, summa iij li xvj s vj d; Item, for ii 1/2 elnis Scottis blak to be hir ane kirtill, ilk elne xij s, iij d, summa xxxij s iij d; Item for ix elnis lenyng clath to be hir serkis, ilk elne xvj d, summa xij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 428.		93	Habib only notes the first of these three items.
93	Item, to the twa blak ladeis, x Franche crounis, summa vij li.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 401.		94	
94	Item, pait to the said John Davidson for schone, butis, tane fra him to...blak Ellene fra Lammes to Alhallo day bypast, the tyme the Bischop of Cathnes wes Thesaurar, v li xij d.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 404.		95	
95	Item... for iij elne Franche russet to be ane goune to Blak Elene, ilk elne xx tj s, summa v li; Item for iij elne Scottis blak to be ane kirtill to blak Elene, ilk elne xliij s, summa xliij s; Item, for ij 1/2 elne taffetj to hir, ilk elne xvj s, summa xl s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 434.		96	Habib only notes the first of these three items.
96	Item... for iiij elnis of fyne russet to be blak Margaret ane goune, elk elne xij s, summa xlvij s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , IV, 436.		97	
97	Item, to Helenor, the blak moir, xl s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , V, 328.		99	
98	To Blynde Moore in reward, xs	<i>Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester</i> , ed. Adams, pp. 150, 163.			Ungerer, 'The presence of Africans in Elizabethan England', p. 23, n. 4. This payment comes amongst a host of others to musicians, including flutes, bagpipes, fife and drum.
99	Item be my lord regentis grace precept to Johnne Murdoch, tailyeur... Thre elnis of the said stamyng to be ane klok to the moir, the elne iiii s iiii d; Item ane quarter of welvote [velvet] to the moris cloke nek- xl s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , XII, 97.			

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Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Country	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Occupation	Household
100	1569	December	10	Edinburgh	Scotland	Nageir	the More	M	courtier?	James Stewart, Earl of Moray
101	1570	January	26	Edinburgh	Scotland	Nageir	the Meir	M	courtier?	James Stewart, Earl of Moray
102	1574	April	14	London	England		blak a More	U	courtier?	Elizabeth I
103	c.1575			London	England		a blackamore	U	courtier?	Elizabeth I

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Record number	Full text	Archival/printed Reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
100	'Item the tent day of December be my lord regentis grace precept to Johnne Murdoch, tailyeour, to be ane abulyement [costume] to Nageir the More vi elnis ii quarters of fine violet stamyng [material] to be cote and hois to him, the elne iii li x s, summa- xxii li, v s; Item thre elnis of pimit cammes [embroidered chamois] to be ane dowblett, the elne xiis, summa xxxvi s; Item ane hat to him as the said precept schawn upon compt beris xxxvi s.	<i>ALHTS</i> , XII, 181.			
101	Item, ...to Peir Antuene and the Meir at their departing to France for the hattis pryce, v li, ii s; Item for iiiii1/2 ellis Franche russat to be the Meir ane klok coit and ane pair of gargaisis- pryce of the aell xl s. summa, ix li; Item to be ane doublat of Poldowy to the Meir and lynying of his gargasis, xv s ,viiiid; Item growgane versettis to be cannonnis to their hois, xvi s; Item for Peir Antueyne and the Moris buirdis in Jhone Mych Cullovis fra the xxvii day of Januar 1569 to the xxvi of Aprill thairafter ilk day vii s. summa xxx li; Item for thair fraucht and victualis frome Leyth to Deipe in France, xvi li; Item, gaif to thame in Deipe at thair landing xl frankis extending to, xxx li; Item for iii pair schone to them at thair departing, xs.	Laing, 'Notice Respecting the Monument of the Regent Earl of Murray', pp. 52-53.			
102	a gasken Coate for a litell blak a More of white taphata cut lined under with tyncell striped downe with golde and silver lined with buckeram and bayes poynted with poyntinge Rebande and faced with taphata:[Henry Herne made:] a peire of gaskens for the said little blak a More with canvas cotten heare pockettes of fustian and lyninges of fustian in the canons. matching bombasted doublet with silver buttons, a pair of knitted stockings, a pair of white shoes, and a pair of white pantobles, a dozen points to truss his hose and a pair of garters.	BL Egerton 2806, f. 70.; Arnold, <i>Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd</i> , p. 106.		139	BL Egerton 2806 is 'A boke of Warrants to the great Guarderobe' (formerly in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps) which recorded all the work carried out by tailors, embroiderers, and other craftsmen for the Wardrobe of the Robes, 1568-1588. For an illustrated guide to Tudor fashions, see N.Mikhaila and J. Malcolm-Davies, <i>The Tudor Tailor: Reconstructing Sixteenth-Century</i>
103	Item, for making of a Gascon coate for a lytle Blackamore of white Taffata, cut and lyned under with tincel, striped down with gold and silver, and lined with buckram and bayes, poynted with poynts and ribands...and faced with taffata...with a white taffata doublet with gold and silver lace, silver buttons, faced with Taffata; a payre of Gascons, a paire of knit hose, a pair of white shoes and pantoufles, a dozen of poynts, and a paire of gaiters'.	TNA, LC 5/34, f. 241; Stopes, 'Elizabeth's Fools and Dwarfs', p. 160.			This record from the Lord Chamberlain's Account refers to the same outfit as that in the record above.

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Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Country	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Occupation	Household
104	1575	April	13	London	England		blak a More?	U	courtier?	Elizabeth I
105	1583	March		London	England		blackamore	U	servant?	Earl of Leicester
106	1584	April	16	Wanstead, Essex	England		blackmore	U	servant?	Earl of Leicester
107	1585	January	5	Wanstead, Essex	England		blackamore	U	servant?	Sir Walter Raleigh
108	1586	February	1	London	England	Cozinti	mor	M	servant?	Don Antonio
109	1586	February	1	London	England	Pedro Fernandes	mulato	M	servant?	Don Antonio
110	1586-7			Petworth, Sussex	England		blackamore	U	servant?	Henry Percy
111	1588	May	10	Petworth, Sussex	England		blackamore	U	servant?	Henry Percy
112	1590	February	1	Edinburgh	Scotland		Moir	M	servant?	Queen Anne of Denmark

5. Household Accounts

Record number	Full text	Archival/printed Reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
104	[Thomas Ludwell made:] a Cassock of carnacion stammell trimmed with silver lase and on either side a purle lase of grene silke sowed on with silke with buttons of silke and silver fased with taphata lined with bayes and buckeram. matching breeches of silver and silk lace-trimmed stammell, with taffeta trimmed with silver lace pulled out between the panes. These were lined with linen, stuffed with hair and canvas to make them stand out and had fustian pockets. He was also provided with a green taffeta doublet, trimmed with lace, a pair of knitted stockings, a taffeta girdle and garters, and a carnation velvet cap; A tuft mockado gown faced with thirty seven black coney [rabbit] skins, a gaskin coat of changeable mockado and a matching doublet and another taffeta girdle and 6 pairs of shoes.	BL Egerton 2806, f. 83 v.; Arnold, <i>Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd</i> , p. 106.		139n.	
105	a mattress given to the blackamore	<i>Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester</i> , ed. Adams, p. 178, n. 364.		154n.	
106	Gyven in reward the same day by your lordship's commandment to the blackmore v s.	<i>Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester</i> , ed. Adams, p. 178, n. 364.		154	Habib misdates this entry to 17 April.
107	Gyven in reward the same day by your lordship's commandment to Mr Rawles blackamore, xx s.	<i>Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester</i> , ed. Adams, p. 210, n. 444.	Diaries and Letters, no. 11.	157	Habib fails to identify 'Rawles' as Raleigh.
108	List of Don Antonio's household, 48 names given, including: 'Cozinti, mor'	TNA, SP 89/2, f. 46; Tenison, <i>Elizabethan England</i> , VII, p. 204; CSPF, ed. Lomas, Sept 1585-May 1586, p. 347.	Burials, no. 31.		CSPF does not transcribe the document in full.
109	List of Don Antonio's household, 48 names given, including: 'Pedro Fernandes, mulato'.	TNA, SP 89/2, f. 46; Tenison, <i>Elizabethan England</i> , VII, p. 204; CSPF, ed. Lomas, Sept 1585-May 1586, p. 347.	Burials, no. 31.		CSPF does not transcribe the document in full.
110	Apparell and Jewels: for apparel to the blackamore, vi li, xii s, v d; Rewards: to Mr. Crosse his man that brought the blackamore to your lordship, xx s.	<i>The Household Accounts of Henry Percy</i> , ed. Batho, p. 74.			
111	Item, paid for a pair of shoes for the blackamore, xviii d.	<i>The Household Accounts of Henry Percy</i> , ed. Batho, p. 23.			
112	The Quenis Majesties Househald.. Ane Moir; The Noumer and Names to be Servit at Tables... The Moir.	<i>Papers Relative to the Marriage of King James the Sixth of Scotland with the Princess Anna of Denmark</i> , ed. Gibson Craig, pp. 21, 28.			

5. Household Accounts

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Country	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Occupation	Household
113	1590	October		Edinburgh	Scotland		Moir	M		Queen Anne of Denmark
114	1613-24			Knole, Kent	England	John Morockoe	blackamoor	M	kitchen worker.	Earl of Dorset
115	1613-24			Knole, Kent	England	Grace Robinson	blackamoor	F	laundress	Earl of Dorset
116	1622			Theobalds, Hertfordshire	England		blackemor	U	servant?	Robert Cecil
117	1640	March	25	Tawstock, Devon	England	James	blackamoor	M	cook	Earl of Bath
118	1640	May	6	Tawstock, Devon	England	James	blackamoor	M	cook	Earl of Bath
119	1640	October	22	Tawstock, Devon	England	James	blackamoor	M	cook	Earl of Bath
120	1643	January	13	Tawstock, Devon	England	James	blackamoor	M	cook	Earl of Bath
121	1643	March	25	London	England	James	blackamoor	M	cook	Earl of Bath
122	1644	2	May	Tawstock, Devon	England	James	blackamoor	M	cook	Earl of Bath
123	1645			Tawstock, Devon	England	James	blackamoor	M	cook	Earl of Bath
124	1646	November	23	Tawstock, Devon	England	James	blackamoor	M	cook	Earl of Bath
125	1646	November	28	Tawstock, Devon	England	James	blackamoor	M	cook	Earl of Bath

5. Household Accounts

Record number	Full text	Archival/printed Reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
113	payment to James Inglis for clothes for 'four pages of the Quenis Majesties and a Moir'.	<i>Papers Relative to the Marriage of King James the Sixth of Scotland with the Princess Anna of Denmark</i> , ed. Gibson Craig, p. 36.			
114	Kitchen and Scullery: John Morockoe, a Blackamoor.	<i>The Diary of the Lady Anne Clifford</i> , ed. Sackville-West, lxi.		284	
115	Laundry maids: Grace Robinson, a blackamoor.	<i>The Diary of the Lady Anne Clifford</i> , ed. Sackville-West, lxi.		283	
116	to the blackemor att Theoballs, 6 s.	<i>Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury</i> , ed. Dyfnallt Owen, XXII, 166.	Burials, no. 48.	no	This source can be viewed online at: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=112517
117	James the Blackamoor, £5, 4 s.	<i>Devon Household Accounts 1627-59, Part II</i> , ed. Gray, p. 206.	Baptisms, no. 59.		
118	to James the blackamore, £2.	<i>Devon Household Accounts 1627-59, Part II</i> , ed. Gray, p. 173.	Baptisms, no. 59.		
119	to James the Blackmore...£2.	<i>Devon Household Accounts 1627-59, Part II</i> , ed. Gray, p. 178.	Baptisms, no. 59.		
120	Item paid James Blackmoore for one quarter's wages due at Christmas last, £1.	CKS, U269/A525/5; <i>Devon Household Accounts 1627-59, Part II</i> , ed. Gray, p. 33.	Baptisms, no. 59.		
121	for half a year due at our Lady Day 1643...to James the Blackamoor the like, £2.	CKS, U269/A518/1; <i>Devon Household Accounts 1627-59, Part II</i> , ed. Gray, p. 117.	Baptisms, no. 59.		
122	also to James the blackamoor...for his wages due at our Lady Day this last...then for the like, £1.	<i>Devon Household Accounts 1627-59, Part II</i> , ed. Gray, p. 248.	Baptisms, no. 59.		
123	A note of the servants at Tawstock... p. year James Blackmoore cook, £2.	CKS, U269/E314/1; <i>Devon Household Accounts 1627-59, Part II</i> , ed. Gray, p. 297.	Baptisms, no. 59.		
124	paid James Blackmore for 3 quarters wages due at Christmas next, £3.	CKS, U269/A525/5; <i>Devon Household Accounts 1627-59, Part II</i> , ed. Gray, p. 52.	Baptisms, no. 59.		
125	paid James Blackmoore for 3 quarters wages due to him, £3.	CKS, U269/A525/7; <i>Devon Household Accounts 1627-59, Part II</i> , ed. Gray, p. 65.	Baptisms, no. 59.		

6. Church and Municipal Accounts

Record number	Date	Parish	Place	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Full text	Archival Reference
1	1593-4		Plymouth, Devon		a neger	U	Itm pd for buryenge a neger on Catt downe_ vi d	PWDRO Widey Court Book: W132 f. 99 v.
2	1594-5		Plymouth, Devon		a molato	U	Itm pd for passage awaye of a molato wch laye about the streate_ vid	PWDRO Widey Court Book: W132 f. 104 r.
3	1596-7	All Saints, Staining	London		a blackmore	U	received for the burial of a blackmore – 00.00.04 d	GL MS 4956/2, f. 185.
4	1597	St Botolphs Bishopsgate	London		ye blackamor	M?	paid for a warrant to carry ye blackamor to ye hospitall---iis	GL MS 4524/1 f. 96.
5	1602	St Michael Cornhill	London		Barbarian	M	Item given the ninth of Januarie unto a poore Barbarian w[hi]ch had binne robbed at sea and taken by Pirates the like not to be allowed	GL MS 4071/2, f. 38v.
6	1603-4	St Stephens, Walbrook	London		A blackamor	M	pd wt was geven to A blackamor and Another poor man by consente--- vi s	GL MS 593/2, f. 106.
7	1605-6		Aberdeen, Scotland.	Harry Domingo	none	M	Item to Harye Domingo for sownding the trumpet at the proclaiming of the saidis letteris, 1 lib.	
8	1608-9		Aberdeen, Scotland.	Harry Domingo	Moir	M	Item, to Alexr Forbes, cartar, for his cart, in careing and trailling of Lyndsay, adultrur witht Hary Domyngo, the Moir, 6s 8d.	
9	1609-10		Poole, Dorset.	Elizabeth Ferdinando	the Blackmore	F	The town authorities received £1 15s from Francis Kent:for releasinge him of his punishment, inflicted on him att the quarter sessions, the which he was adjudged unto for begetting a bastard on the Blackmore Elizabeth Ferdinando which was given towards the reparacon of the Church.	Dorset RO, Mayors Accounts (town and County of Poole) 1609-10, MA 10, transcript, p. 15.
10	30 August 1623	St Botolph Aldgate	London		ye blackamore	M	for carrying away ye blackamore boy 00.04	GL MS 9237, f. 40.
11	27 March 1625	St Mary	Putney	Frances	a Christian negro	F	At a vestrie holden at Putney by the inhabitants there of the vestrie Whereas Dame Anne Bromley hath bestowed £10 uppon the poore of the parishe there, to be employed as a stocke for the releefe and comfort of the said poore in bread, or otherwise at the discretion of the said vestrie men. We whose names are underwritten in the name of the parish doe intertaine and are willing to receave the sayd monies, and shall endeavor accordingly to settle the sayd monies as a continued stocke and the benefitt thereof to accrue unto the poore of the said parish according to [the] good intendement of the said Ladies charitable mind. Nicholas Lusher, William Leo, Thomas Clarke, William Offlie, Robbart Angell, Abraham Dawes, Thomas Wootton, William White, Richard Willett Churchwarden, Henry White, Robert Boughton, John Starkey, Richard Penner X his mark. Memorandum. That within the £20 abovementioned is conteyned £10 a legacie of a Christian negro servant unto the sayd Ladie Bromley, and the other £10 is the gift of the sayd Ladie. Ita testo Guiliel. Leo	LMA P95/MRY1/413, p. 15.
12	20 March 1627	St Mary	Putney	Frances	a negro maid	F	Henry White and Dunstone Duck Churchwardens: their accompts of monies receaved and paid out for the church this yeare 1626: More receaved: of Mr Robart Angell the 2 of Maie 1626 by order of the vestrie the some of £21.10 shillings being so much put into Mr Angells hand to paie use for being the guift of the Lady Bromblie and a negro maid servant of hirs to the poore of this parish. And ordered by vestrie the daie above to be paid in to the churchwarden Henrie Whit to be put out to use for the poor. £21.10 shillings	LMA P95/MRY1/413, p.35.

6. Church and Municipal Accounts

Record number	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
1	Worth, <i>Calendar of the Plymouth Municipal Records</i> , p. 136.				
2	Worth, <i>Calendar of the Plymouth Municipal Records</i> , p. 137.				
3	Knutson, 'A Caliban in St. Mildred, Poultry', p. 114.	http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm		210	Habib (p. 99) makes the unsubstantiated suggestion that this death was a result of the plague.
4	Griffiths, <i>Lost Londons</i> , p. 73, n. 24.				
5		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm			
6	Griffiths, <i>Lost Londons</i> , p. 73, n. 24.				
7	'Extracts from the Accounts of the Burgh of Aberdeen', in <i>The Miscellany of the Spalding Club</i> , ed. J. Stuart (5 vols, Aberdeen, 1841-1852), V, 79.				The letters are described on p. 78.
8	'Extracts from the Accounts of the Burgh of Aberdeen', in <i>The Miscellany of the Spalding Club</i> , ed. J. Stuart (5 vols, Aberdeen, 1841-1852), V, 85.				
9	L.A. Parker, <i>Dorset's Hidden Histories</i> (2007), p. 40.				I owe this reference to Jenny Oliver of Poole libraries. See also Halliday, <i>Habeas Corpus</i> , p. 9.
10	Griffiths, <i>Lost Londons</i> , p. 73, n. 24.				
11		Gerhold, 'Black People', p. 22; 'Celebrating Black History in Wandsworth', pp. 7-8. http://www.mlalondon.org.uk/uploads/documents/wandsworth_resource_pack.pdf	Wills and Inventories, no. 2.	324	Frances is not named in this document, but is likely to be the same woman named in William Offley's will.
12		Gerhold, 'Black People', p. 22; 'Celebrating Black History in Wandsworth', pp. 7-8. http://www.mlalondon.org.uk/uploads/documents/wandsworth_resource_pack.pdf	Wills and Inventories, no. 2.	329	Frances is not named in this document, but is likely to be the same woman named in William Offley's will.

7. Court Records

Record number	Court	Year	Month	Day	Place	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Full text	Role in court
1	High Court of Admiralty	1548	February	8	Southampton	Jacques Frances	no	M	Jaques Frauncys, slave, as he asserted, of Peter Paulo with whom he lived for about two years, and before in the Island of Guinea where he was born, aged 20 years or thereabouts, witness etc, as he says of his own free will, says through the interpretation of John Tyrart, appointed and sworn etc as interpreter, that he had known the aforesaid [Peter Paulo] for two years and he had known Domenico Erizo for about seven months, as he says... the sayd Peter Paulo and this deponent with vij more men abowte Ester last chauncyd to fynde in the see at the nedelles CC blockes tynne a Bell and certen ledde w[hi]ch this deponent dyd handell and see under water being there p[er]yshyde and forsakhy And thereuppon the same Peter having a Commission of my lorde Admyrall for that purpose dyd p[re]pare dyv[er]s Instrumentes and thinges to his costes of CCC Crownes and wold have takyn and savyd all the same Tynne bell and ledde w[i]thowten dowte and then the same beyng p[re]paryd the sayd Domynico dyd arreste and staye the same Peter at Hampt[o]n [Southampton] and sayd that he had robbyd hym, and by that meanes kepte the sayd Peter that he could not use his peace in taking uppe thereof by the space of all the monethe of Maye and the best tyme that he shuld have byn occupyed and by reason thereof his Instrumentes and vyttelles so p[re]paryd were not occupyd and by that meanes loste the sayd Tynne bell and ledde... the sayd Dominico Erizo dyd by force take waye from the sayd Peter Paulo one pece of tynne w[hi]ch the same Peter Paulo founde ij myles from Hampton (Southampton) in the see and brought uppe the same and evey payd for the takyng thereof But sayd falsely that the same Peter had stolen hit to his hynderaunce of CCCCCCCli w[hi]ch the same Peter Paulo might have gotten w[i]th the sayd tynne bell and ledde that he found.	witness

7. Court Records

Record number	Archival Reference	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
1	TNA HCA 13/93, ff. 203-4	Ungerer, 'Recovering a Black African's Voice in an English Lawsuit, pp. 255-271.	http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/early_times/docs/francis_deposition.htm		108	The Latin describing Jacques Francis reads: 'Jaques Frauncys famulus ut asseruit Petri Paulo cum quo habitavit circiter duos annos et antea in Insula de Gynney ubi natus erat etate xxti annorum aut circiter'

7. Court Records

Record number	Court	Year	Month	Day	Place	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Full text	Role in court
2	High Court of Admiralty	1548	May	28	Southampton	Jacques Frances	morisco	M	Anthony de Nicholao Rimero of Venice [sailor] where he was born, of the age of 32 years or thereabouts freely etc says that he has known Dominico Erizo for 5 years, and Peter Paulo for 2 years, and John Ik, George Blake and James Frances about 2 years, as he says. And he does not know the others...[he says that] in August and September and October 1547 this deponent beyng at Southe hampton dyd perfetly see perceave and knowe the same James Fraunces slave to the sayd paulo John Ik George Blake and ij other whoes names he knoweth not were by all the sayd tyme servauntes to the same paulo he payeng for ther meate and dryncke at the Dolphin in hampton where sondry tymes this deponent was present with them... the sayd James Fraunces and thother wytnes before namyd be all poore laboryng men and sekyng ther levyng abowte in sondrye places where they maye gett hit having but letle of ther owne that his deponent did harde of ... the sayd James Fraunces ys a morisco born where they are not christenyd and slave to the sayd peter paulo who hathe in this deponentes presens offeryd hym to sell to any that wold have bought hym And therefore he beleavythe that no Credite nor faithe ought to be geven to his Sayenges as in other Strange Christian cuntries hit ys to no suche slave geven ... in October 1547 the sayd petur paulo was attachyd (arrested) for certen tynne to the value of vijli, and within an howere or a haulf dischargyd by Angelo Mylanes at Southe hampton, and none of anny of his servauntes nor his Instrumentes at any tyme stayed that ever he this Deponent harde of...	referred to in testimony
3	Star Chamber	1560 (date of record 1580)			Bristol		a black moore	U	[11th April 1580] Anne White, of the city of Bristol, widow of the age of lxx years or thereabouts... Saith farther that about Xxtie years paste the said Sir John Yonge did ...appoint a blacke moore to kepe the possession of his garden, and the husband of this examinant did appoint others to keepe the possession of his garden, in likewise, for that the said gardens lay open... [Interrogatory 3]: Whether did he [Sir John] set a Blackmore he had with weapons ther to threaten, menace and misuse the said Giles [and] his wife? Whether by extreame dealing did hee force the said Giles to geve his garden over to him against his will?	referred to in testimony
4	Inquisition	1569	October-December		Plymouth				50-60 Africans loaded in Plymouth with Hawkins when he left on his third slaving voyage in 1568: testimonies of .Robert Barrett, 8 October 1569; Michael Sole, 26 November 1569; Walter Jones, 6 December 1569; Juan Truslon, 6 December 1569.	referred to in testimony
5	Commission of Inquiry	1569	July		Plymouth		Negroes	U	John Tonnes, servant to Hawkins on the <i>Jesus</i> , testified:' there were 10 or 12 Negroes or thereabouts in the <i>Minion</i> ; whereof she brought 7 into England and the rest died by the way homewards.'	referred to in testimony

7. Court Records

Record number	Archival Reference	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
2	TNA HCA 13/93, ff. 275-6	Ungerer, 'Recovering a Black African's Voice in an English Lawsuit, pp. 255-271.	http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/early_times/docs/deposition_niccoli.htm		108	The full images and transcripts of this and the above document are available on the National Archives website.
3	TNA STAC 5/S 14/26	Jones and Youseph, <i>The Black Population of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century</i> , p. 2; Dresser, <i>Slavery Obscured</i> , p. 10.			126	Habib, p. 207 also refs STAC 5/C18/29
4	AGI Patronato 265, ramo 11, f. 16; AGI Justicia, 902, pp. 343, 984, 1006.	<i>Hawkins in Guinea, 1567-1568</i> , ed. Hair, pp. 16-17; Kelsey, <i>Sir John Hawkins</i> , p. 320, n. 11.				Hair underestimates size of this group; Habib (p. 66, n. 4) misdates their arrival to 1564.
5	TNA SP12/53	<i>An English Garner</i> , ed. Arber, V, 242.		Burials, no. 5.		Habib (p. 68, n. 12) says 'an unspecified number' returned. The original document states 7.

7. Court Records

Record number	Court	Year	Month	Day	Place	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Full text	Role in court
6	Bridewell	1576	December	15	London		blacke man	M	Anne Levens, a prostitute, testified 'that a tall blacke man with a blacke beard and a straunger had the use of her body at Mrs Esgriggess at White Fryers'	referred to in testimony
7	Bridewell	1577	May	15	London	Peter Peringoe	blacke amore	M	Peter Peringoe a blacke amore here confesseth that indede he had thuse of the bodey of one Margery Williams here psent to his face in one Sawyers house in Clerke Alley in Bishopsgate on Mondaye last she denyeth it. She is punished for that as well by testimony of Richard dobson bedle of the warde it is proved they were taken a bedd together as his confession appereth that it is true And they saye she came to his bedd	witness
8	Bridewell	1577	December	16	London	Anthonye	a black amore	M	Jane Thompson a harlott sent in by mr deputye Seymr for that she consented to comitt whoredome wth one Anthonye a blackamore and taken a bedd together the dore locked to them she is whipped and delivered	referred to in testimony
9	Bridewell	1578	January	15	London		blackamores	M	Rose Browne widoe & Elizabeth Kirkham sent in by mr. deputie kitchens for that Rose Browne is a bawde and a whore to the said Elizabeth Kirkham and others Elizabeth sayeth that the same Rose had dyvers & many blackamores and other psons resort to her house while this Elizabeth dwelt ther.	referred to in testimony
10	Court of Requests	1587			London		Ethiopian Negar	M	whereas one John Lax of Fowey in your highness's county of Cornwall, maryner, havinge an Ethiopian Negar lately brought from the porte of Santa Domingo in Nova Spayne beyond the seas in or about the month of October nowe last past came unto the sayde supplyant [Hector Nunez] and offered to sell the same Ethiopian unto your said supplyant as is used in Spayne and Portugal and other Countries beyond the seas. And the said supplyant not knowing the lawes and customes of this your realme of England, but thinking the lawes in that behalfe here as in his owne countrie (in Portingall) where he was born, bargained with the said John Lax and bought the same Ethiopian and for hym payed unto the said John Lax the somme of foure poundes and ten shillings...the said Ethiopian utterly refuseth to tarry and serve your said Suppliant during his life according to the bargain made by the said John Lax with your said supplyant, so that your said supplyant is likely to lose both the sayde Ethiopian and also his four poundes, tenn shillings...for that your said suppliant hath not any ordinarye remedie at and by the course of the Common Law of this realme eyther to compell the said Ethiopian to serve him duringe his life or to recover his four pounds ten shillings again of the said John Lax...[Nunez] beinge a foreigner and borne out of this realme was ignorant of the lawes therein...[asks that Lax be brought to justice.]	referred to in testimony

7. Court Records

Record number	Archival Reference	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
6	BCB, III, f. 97r.		http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/image_viewer.htm?Bcb-03,922,227,S			It is possible that this man had black hair rather than black skin, but his further description as a 'stranger' makes it more likely he was an African. I owe this reference to Duncan
7	BCB, III, ff. 218r.	Griffiths, <i>Lost Londons</i> , p. 74, n. 25.	http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/image_viewer.htm?Bcb-03,922,472,L			I owe this reference to Duncan Salkeld.
8	BCB, III, f. 261v.	Griffiths, <i>Lost Londons</i> , p. 74, n. 25.	http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/image_viewer.htm?Bcb-03,922,559,L			I owe this reference to Duncan Salkeld.
9	BCB, III, f. 277r.	Salkeld, 'Blacy Lucy and the "Curtizans" of Shakespeare's London', p. 4.	http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/image_viewer.htm?Bcb-03,922,590,L		144	Habib misrefers to f. 280. I owe this reference to Duncan Salkeld.
10	TNA REQ 2/164/117			Burials, nos. 13, 17 and Tax Returns, no. 7 for other Africans in Nunez's household.	165	The document spells Nunez's name 'Nonneis'. This has been misread by Knutson and Habib as 'Novimeis'. They thus fail to identify this as Nunez. See also Ungerer, 'Recovering a Black African's Voice in an English Lawsuit, n. 30.

7. Court Records

Record number	Court	Year	Month	Day	Place	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Full text	Role in court
11	Book of Remembrance	1591	July	29	Southampton	Michael and	negro/black more	M	Deonis Edwards...being demaunded whether he would laye anie felonie or other charge unto or against two negroes, thone named Michael late Mr Holmes blackmore, and thother named Mr Heatons blackmore they being both before that comitted to prison at his suite uppon suspicion of cuttinge & stealinge a cable from his barcke, aunswered that he would not laye anie thinge to there charge; Whereupon (they denyenge the fact) weare punished in the stocks and so freed. signed John Jackson (mayor), Richard Goddarde, John Bollackar.	referred to in testimony
12	High Court of Admiralty	1592			London		Neygroes	M	(REQ 2/353/44)'yt is obiected against the sayde Dassell that he brought in this voyage ii Neygroes owte of the said Contrye agaynst theire wills and contrary to the proclamation and commandment of the kinge of the said coast of Guinea.'; (HCA 24/59, f.45) Interrogatories, 11: Item how many Neygrose weare there transported in the bygger shipp and what are theire names & in whose custody and keeping are they at this tyme & weather weather weare they transported with the good will & leave of their parents and friends and the leave of the King of the sayd countrey, yea or noe & of what account are suche as are transported in the sayd country to your knowledge or as you have harde by credible reports?; Julius Caesar (BL Landsdowne 158, f.137): I have examined the negroes and doe find by then that they came hether by consent of there frendes to see the country.	
13	Church Court	1593	February	17	Gray's Thurrock, Essex		blackmore	M	Joanna Bennett is accused of 'having carnall knowledge and abusing her body with a certain blackmore now dwelling in the town.	referred to
14	Church Court	1593	December	15	Aldingbourne, West Sussex	Paul	blakemore	M	Agnes Musby [presented and cited] 'for fornicacyon w[i]th Paull a blakemore': pronounced contumacious in not appearing: penalty held over till next court day. Paul a blackemoore [as above]: cited viis et modis	referred to
15	Chancery	1596	December		London		blackmores	U	They did commonly towards Easter (as their blackmores which they kept told this deponent) light a great wax candle and sett the same in a basen with 4 white loaves about the candle in the myddest of a great roome in the said Fardynando's house	referred to in testimony
16	Star Chamber	1597			Lydney, Gloucestershire	Edward Swarthy	negro/black more	M	Sir Edward Winter 'comaunded one Edward Swarthy alias Nigro, his servant being a negro or Blackamore with a cudgell or ryding wande... to beate and whip the said John Guye [another servant] about the legges and sundry partes of his body'(STAC 5 B 38/11). Interrogatories to be submitted to Edward Swarfe alias Nigroe... Imprimus were you comaunded ...to whip the said Guye on or before comynge to your master's house and did you know before comynge that you were appointed to whip the said Guye? 2. Then in what [part] of the house did you whipp him And who else besides the said Edward Wynter were present? [Replies illegible] (STAC 5 B11/13).	witness

7. Court Records

Record number	Archival Reference	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
11		<i>Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton</i> , ed.James, IV, 6.		Tax Returns, no. 9, 11, 16; Diaries and Letters, no. 12.		T.B James identifies Mr. Holmes as Thomas Holmes (1560-1594), of Holy Rood parish, mayor in 1591.
12	TNA HCA 24/59, ff. 29-46; TNA REQ 2/353/44; BL Landsdowne 158, ff. 131-137.	Hair, 'Attitudes to Africans', p. 68.				
13	Essex RO, D/AEA 16, f. 162v.	Emmison, <i>Elizabethan Life: Morals and the Church Courts</i> , p. 19.				Bennett does penance on 24 March 1594 (see f. 196).
14	West Sussex Record Office, Ep.I/17/8, f. 139r.					On 19 January 1594 (f. 140r), Haines senior certified that Agnes Musby had done her penance. I owe this reference to Martin Ingram.
15	TNA C 24/250, no. 6, f. 6.	Sisson, 'A colony of Jews in Shakespeare's London', p. 45.		Tax Returns, no. 4.	169	Sisson footnotes C33/94 when his quotation seems to be from C24/250; Habib suggests 2 maids, when the record merely refers to 'blackmores'.
16	TNA STAC 5 B11/13; STAC 5/B38/11; STAC 5/B20/36; STAC 5/B37/4; STAC 5/B22/33.					Swarthy is described specifically as Winter's porter in STAC 5B38/11.

7. Court Records

Record number	Court	Year	Month	Day	Place	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Full text	Role in court
17	Bridewell	1599	July	28	London	Mary Dane	Negro	F	This day it is ordered that Mary Dane a Negro being heretofore charged shalbe discharged paying her charges	presented
18	Bridewell	1600	February	20	London	Mary Dane	the negar	F	This day at the request of Mr Oliver Skynner it is ordered that Mary Dane the negar shall be kept here & the said Mr Skynner promised to pay for her charges.	presented
19	Bridewell	1603	January	5	London		a blackmoore	F	Roger Holgate servant to Thomas Browne hatmaker...saithe and confesseth that he hath committed with his fellowe a blackmoore in the house the abominable synne of whoredome and the firste tyme was a fortnight before Michaelmas last. Ordered to be punished wch was performed and has kept till he put in sureties to discharge the cittie and parishe of the childe and children.	referred to in testimony
20	Bridewell	1605	January	9	London		the black more	F	This day mr Briggs complained to the Govnrs pnte in corte that Murrey the beadle did not execute the warrant wch was delivred him for apprehending the hatmaker whoe had gott the black more with child but did showe the same to the [blackmore deleted] hatmaker whereupon he absented himself & is not to be found. Ordered by consent of the whole corte that yf Murrey bringe not in the said hatmaker that then he shall lose his place.	referred to
21	Bridewell	1606	March	29	London	Marey	a negroe	F	Marey a negroe... saith she dwelte with Mr. Conradus in Brod Street & one John Edwards a border ther had thuse of her body twice & she is wth child by him. He came to bord ther at whitsondaie last.	presented
22	Bridewell	1609	April	1	London	Abell	a Blackamor	M	Abell a Blackamor heretofore sent in by warr[ant] from Sir Thomas Bennett for stobborness being incorrigable and so he shewed himself to the Governors and his Mr Paul Bannyng present he is by order of Court punished and kept still at worke.	presented
23	Middlesex Sessions	1612			London	Helenor Myou		F	Helenor Myou lost a set of 'bandes, a pillober and other goods'.	victim
24	Inquisition	1615			Lisbon	Diogo	negro	M	Diogo explained that in 1607, aged 12, while on his way from Lisbon to Bahia, Brazil with a Portuguese called Luis Vaz Paiva when he was captured near the Canary Islands. He was sold in Algiers to a pirate named Camarit who forced him to convert to Islam, taking the Islamic name 'Tombos'. He served Camarit served for the next seven years, as he attacked European vessels in the Atlantic and Mediterranean. Then he was taken by an English pirate captain, who he sailed with for four months, before the captain decided to return to England and throw himself on the mercy of the Crown. The Crown granted the captain a pardon and his crew was allowed to disembark. Diogo stayed in London for four months before returning to Lisbon to seek out his original Portuguese master, Francisco de Paiva Mercado. He asserted that when he laid foot on English soil, 'he immediately became free, because in that Reign nobody is a	testifies

7. Court Records

Record number	Archival Reference	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
17	BCB, IV, f. 96.	Griffiths, <i>Lost Londons</i> , p. 74, n. 25.	http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/image_viewer.htm?BCB-04,947,192,L	Tax returns, no.12.		
18	BCB, IV, f. 144r.	Griffiths, <i>Lost Londons</i> , p. 74, n. 25.	http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/image_viewer.htm?BCB-04,947,288,L	Tax returns, no. 12.		
19	BCB, IV, f. 344.	Griffiths, <i>Lost Londons</i> , p. 74, n. 25.	http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/image_viewer.htm?BCB-04,947,688,L			
20	BCB, V, f. 7v.		http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/image_viewer.htm?Bcb-05,916,52,L			I owe this reference to Duncan Salkeld.
21	BCB, V, f. 94v.	Griffiths, <i>Lost Londons</i> , p. 74, n. 25.	http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/image_viewer.htm?Bcb-05,916,216,L	Baptisms, no. 31.		
22	BCB, V, f. 337v.	Griffiths, <i>Lost Londons</i> , p. 74, n. 25.	http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/image_viewer.htm?Bcb-05,916,703,L	Baptisms, no. 22, Tax Returns, no. 8 and Wills and Inventories, no. 4.		
23	LMA, MJ/SBR/1, ff. 479, 498.	Griffiths, <i>Lost Londons</i> , p. 74.				
24	ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processos, no. 5964.	Sweet, <i>Recreating Africa</i> , pp. 94-5.	http://digitarq.dgarq.gov.pt/viewer?id=2306003			

7. Court Records

Record number	Court	Year	Month	Day	Place	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Full text	Role in court
25	Middlesex Sessions	1615	September	5, 6	London	Hellen Jeronimo	Moor	M	Franciscus Pinto de Crutchett Ffriers London mercator. The condition is that ffrancis Pintoe appear at next Sessions [to present?] a bill of indictment and give evidence against Hellen Jeronimo upon suspicion of felony for 14 bookes of Callicoe 26 pieces of pachers and 108 lb of sugar.	referred to
26	Middlesex Sessions	1615	September	5, 6	London	Thomas Jeronimo; John Anthony.	Maurus	M	Thomas Jeronimo de Ratcliff, Mariner et Maurus...John Anthony de ende [Inde?] Musitian et Maurus ... The condition is that Hellen Jeronimo wife of the said Thomas Jeronimo doe appeare at the next gaole delivery And answer what shalbee objected against her by Mr Pintoe upon suspicion of felony.	referred to
27	Bridewell	1619	March	13	London	Katharina Moore	a Blackmore	F	Katharina Moore brought in from Mr deptie Bond for a Blackmore that is unruly is by order of court sent to her mistress.	presented
28	Bridewell	1619	June	9	London	Mary Peter	Blac amore	F	Mary Peter Blac amore woman brought in by Constable...[from] Holborne for a vagrant, anould gueste, unruly is punished & kepte.	presented
29	Bridewell	1620	October	14	London		a Blackamore	F	A Blackamore woman brought in upon my Lo[rd] Clerk's command is kepte at worke charges paid.	presented
30	Westminster Sessions	1626	February	23	Westminster	Anne Cobbie	tawnie Moore	F	Anne Cobbie a tawnie Moore was often at the 'bawd' house of John Bankes, in the parish of St Clement Danes, Westminster, where 'divers men had rather give her a peece to lye with her than an other v shillings because of her soft skinne'.	referred to in testimony
31	Bridewell	1628	March	29	London	Peter Cavandigoe	a Blackmore	M	Peter Cavandigoe by warr[ant] from Sir John Leman a Blackmore for being an idle and wandring p[er]son and for breaking a boyes leg with a broome staffe as the boy past along street not giving him any cause of offence punished.	presented
32	Bridewell	1631	March	23	London	Hamey	moore/blackmore	M	Hamey a moore...va[grant?] blackmore who hath bene here before is to worke till he may be sent beyond seas into his owne countrey.	presented
33	Church Court	1632	April		Stepney	Grace	a blackamoore	F	'Grace--, a blackamoore presented by churchwardens for living incontinently with Walter Church. Stepney <i>A name, possible from the other party, is given but is illegible</i>	presented
34	Dorchester Offender's Book	1633	July	8	Dorchester, Dorset	Mary	a blackamoore	F	Mary, 'a blackamoore', described as a servant to 'Captain Sallanova' of Weymouth. She admitted she did not have her master or mistresses permission to travel, and she was sent back to Weymouth.	presented

7. Court Records

Record number	Archival Reference	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
25	LMA MJ/SR/S53, no. 112.		http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=82371	Diaries and Letters, nos. 21, 22.		See also: LMA, X71/024: Middlesex Sessions Register, MJ/SR/2/346, 349a; LMA X71/018: Gaol Delivery Registers 2/93.
26	LMA MJ/SR/S53, no. 113.		http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=82371			See also: LMA, X71/024: Middlesex Sessions Register, MJ/SR/2/346, 349a; LMA X71/018: Gaol Delivery Registers 2/93.
27	BCB, VI, f. 103v.	Griffiths, <i>Lost Londons</i> , p. 74, n. 25.	http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/image_viewer.htm?BCB-06,894,208,L			
28	BCB VI, f. 127r.	Griffiths, <i>Lost Londons</i> , p. 74, n. 25.	http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/image_viewer.htm?BCB-06,894,255,L			
29	BCB, VI, f. 205v.	Griffiths, <i>Lost Londons</i> , p. 74, n. 25.	http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/image_viewer.htm?BCB-06,894,412,L			
30	LMA, Westminster Sessions Roll, WJ/SR(NS) 15, no. 130.					
31	BCB, VII, f. 65v.	Griffiths, <i>Lost Londons</i> , p. 74, n. 25.	http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/image_viewer.htm?Bcb-07,752,137,L			
32	BCB, VII, f. 271v.	Griffiths, <i>Lost Londons</i> , p. 74, n. 25.	http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/image_viewer.htm?Bcb-07,752,538,L			
33	GL MS 9065E/1 f. 81.		http://www.history.ac.uk/gh/baentries.htm		342	
34	B/2/8/1, f. 181v. (Dorchester Offender's book)	Ammusen, <i>Caribbean Exchanges</i> , p. 218.				Captain Sallanova was Peter Salleneuve, a French privateer.

7. Court Records

Record number	Court	Year	Month	Day	Place	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Full text	Role in court
35	Bridewell	1634	April	23	London	Katherin West	blackmore	F	Katherin West... va[grant?] blackmore wench to worke til next cort.	presented

7. Court Records

Record number	Archival Reference	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
35	BCB, VII, f. 375r.	Griffiths, <i>Lost Londons</i> , p. 74, n. 25.	http://www.bethlemheritage.org.uk/archive/web/image_viewer.htm?Bcb-07,752,746,L			

8. Wills and Inventories

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Parish	Place	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Household	Full text	Archival Reference
1	1570	August	28	St Peter's	Barnstaple	Anthonye	Negarre	M	Nicholas Witchalse	Item I geve unto Anthonye my negarre v s so that he remaine withe my wife otherwise yf she mynde not to kepe him to give hym v markes and lette hym	TNA PROB 11/52, ff. 194v-195.
2	1600	December	21	St Lawrence Pountney	London	Ffrancis	black a moore	F	William Offley	to every one of my maid servants which shall serve me at the tyme of my decease a cassocke of black cloth of fowreteene shillings the yarde and ffyftie shillings in money but to ffrancis my black a moore I geve for her releife the some of tenne pounes and a gowne of twelve shillings the yarde.	TNA PROB 11/98, f. 301.
3	1612	October	14		Winchester	Joane	the blackemore	F	Maria Groce	Item I give unto my servant Joane the blackemore a flockbed, two blanketts a coverlett two paire of sheets and three pounds in money	HRO, Win.B, 1612 will Maria Groce/ 1612B/036
4	1616	October	12	St Olave Hart St	London	Anthony	Negro	M	Paul Bayning	Item I give unto Mr. John Simpson minister of St Olaves parishe in Hart Streete tenne pounes to be payed hym in this manner vizt fyve pounes thereof within three monethes after my decease and other fyve pounes for instructing of Anthony my Negro in the principles of the Xhristian faithe and Religion when he shalbe fitt to be baptised	TNA , PROB 11/128, f. 256v.
5	1625	May	27		Almondsbury, Gloucestershire	Cattelena	negra	F		The true inventorie of all the goodes & chattels of one Cattelena a negra dessessed of Almondsbury in the county of gloucer singell woman & in the dioshes of Bristow praised by Thomas cottwell Maurice Pearri & Thomas Hainnes: In primus one kow a price-; Imprimus one bed one bousler one pillow one payus of blankets one sheet one quilt- xvii; Inprimus far lettell potes on pewter kanstook on tennen bottill on desson of spoones- xvii; Inprimus three cutsen dishes tow dussen of trenchers a pric-; Inprimus on table cloth a price; Inprimus All her wearinge aparell- xviii-ii; Inprimus one coffer & too letill boxses- iiiii; Some totall- vi l ix s vi d. Exhibit 27 May 1625 & Hellenam Fforde De Almondsbury, wid.	BRO, FC1/1620-1632/19

8. Wills and Inventories

Record number	Printed reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index	Notes
1	<i>Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association</i> (1906), p. 240.	Baptisms, no. 2.	133	Habib mistakes Anthony as property left to Witchalse's wife, having not read the original document.
2		Church and Municipal Accounts, nos. 11, 12.		This piece of evidence illuminates that of the 1625 Churchwarden's accounts.
3	<i>The Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, 1514-1602</i> , ed. James, IV, 6.	Burials, no. 43; Tax Returns nos. 11, 16.		T.B. James mistranscribed Joane as 'Jowe' in his otherwise very informative note. Maria was the widow of Laurence Groce. See other tables for evidence of other Africans in the Groce household.
4	Archer, 'Bayning, Paul (c. 1539–1616)', <i>OxDNB</i>	Baptisms, no. 22; Tax returns no. 8 and Court records no. 22.		There were at least four other Africans in the Bayning household.
5	Dresser, <i>Slavery Obscured</i> , p. 11; Jones and Youseph, <i>The Black Population of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century</i> , p. 2; Linebaugh and Rediker, <i>The Many Headed Hydra</i> , p. 78.		325	This inventory has been mis-identified as a will. Executrix Helen's late husband's name appears to have been David Ford. Linebaugh and Rediker mistakenly refer to Cattelina as the first African recorded in Bristol.

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Number of Africans referred to	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Household
1	1500	October	3	Spain	3			1F, 2U	Katherine of Aragon
2	1549	March	28	Hume Castle, Berwickshire	1		the Mour	M	
3	1554	November	4	London	1		blacke-mor	M	
4	1571	November	22	Isle of Wight	2		Negroes	U	

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Full text	Brief source description	Archival Reference
1	two slaves to attend on the maids of honour... Dona Katherine de Cardones	List of 'the officers and servants who are to remain' with Katherine in England.	
2	Als sua I beseik your grace to be gus prensiss to the Spangyarttis and lat them cum again, for tha do lyk noble men, and als suay the Mour. He is als scharp a man as rydis, besking your grace to be gud prensiss unto him...	Letter, Margaret Hume to Queen Dowager	
3	The iiij day of November be-gane a grett fray at Charyng crosse at viij of the cloke at nyght be-twyn the Spaneardes and Englysmen, the wyche thugh wysdom ther wher but a fuwe hort[hurt], and after the next day thay wher serten taken that be-gane yt; on was a blake-mor, and was brought a-for the hed offesers by the knyght-marshall's servandes.	The Diary of Henry Machyn	
4	At the end of last month I was informed that the <i>Castle of Comfort</i> had arrived at the Isle of Wight ... I sent a man thither in haste ... who searched the whole ship but only found two negroes formerly belonging to Don Luis Vasconcellos, who left Lisbon a year and a half ago in the said Portuguese ship to be governor of Brazil. He arrived in sight of Brazil, almost, at the island of Santo Domingo, where he remained for five months and most of his people escaped from him. He sailed from there and was driven by the weather in a very distressed condition to the Canaries, where he and all his people were, as I have said, captured and murdered.	Letter from Antonio Fogaza to the Prince Ruy Gomez De Silva.	

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index
1	<i>CSPS</i> , 1485-1509, p. 246.		Household Accounts, no. 85.	1
2	<i>The Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine</i> , ed. Cameron, p. 296.			113
3	<i>The Diary of Henry Machyn: Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London</i> , ed. Nicholls, p. 74.	http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=45514 .		
4	<i>CSPS</i> , 1568-1579, p. 352.	http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=86985		

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Notes
1	See also <i>CSPS</i> , pp. 252, 254.
2	
3	
4	

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Number of Africans referred to	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Household
5	1585	April	24	Gravesend	1		a negro Moor/ the Moor	M?	Lupold von Wedel
6	1588	November	12	Salcombe, North Devon	1		negro	M	
7	1589	July	18		1	Anthony	Moore	M	Sir Arthur Throckmorton

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Full text	Brief source description	Archival Reference
5	On the 24 th I went on board, for the skipper intended to set sail. All ships are visited here before they are allowed to start, and as I was accompanied by a negro Moor whom I intended to take with me, the officer would not allow the skipper to take the negro on board, for he had no passport. I was obliged to go on land, thinking that I should have to return to London for the passport. My host, however, went with me to the burgmaster and the constable, who gave me permission to take him with me... the 28 th , when again I bargained with a Hamburg ship, that was to take me and the Moor there for two angelots.	Journal of Lupold von Wedel	
6	three others dead since they landed whereof one was a negro.	List of crew of the San Pedro Mayor enclosed by Anthony Asheley.	TNA SP 12/218/14, f. 25.
7	I tooke the Moore Antony of Guinea to serve me.	Arthur Throckmorton's Diary	CCA U85/38/14

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index
5	Von Bulow, 'Journey through England and Scotland Made by Lupold von Wedel in the Years 1584 and 1585', p. 269.			
6	<i>CSPD</i> , 1581-1590, p. 558.			
7	Rowse, <i>Raleigh and the Throckmortons</i> , p. 121.			164

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Notes
5	
6	<i>CSPD</i> does not transcribe the list.
7	Neither Rowse nor Habib cite the original document. Habib dates it to 1587 (to 1591).

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Number of Africans referred to	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Household
8	1590	October		Bristol	135		Negroes		

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Full text	Brief source description	Archival Reference
8	May yt please your Lordshippes to be acvertyzed that according to your letters of the last of this Instant moneth I have cawsed the sugars to be landed and safely put into a Seller, owte of the Prise brought in by her Majestie's pynnace [the Charles] amountinge in the whole to the quantytie of seaven hundred thirty and fflower cheasts or thereabouts wth 13 hoggsheads of mallasses beinge all the lading that was in the said prize to any knowledge and have likewise bought a carvel of the burden of ffyfty tonnes and victualled the same, for the Transportation of 30 Spaniards and Portugalls and one hundred Negroes into Spayne wch departed from this porte the 12th of this moneth. And for the supplye of money for the same, as also for the payment of the wages of the Captain and his companye, and for the Victuall of the said Spaniards, Portugalls and Negroes, from the tyme that I discharged the captayne of them, being the 6th of this moneth until their departure from here, the chamberlain of this city by my appointment hath received two hundred powndes of Moses Crewe, collector of her Majesties customs here wch will not defraye the whole chardge as shall appear by the Accomptes wch shall be shortly brought unto your honour touvhing that bussnes. The Captayn of the said pynnace desyreth allowance for the victual of his companye, as alsoe of the Portugalls and Negroes from the tyme of his first arrival wtin this port, until the said 6th day of this month, when he discharged his mariners and comytted the Spaniards and Negroes to my order, wch he hath not receyved as yet. Besides other charges wch he desireth to be allowed. I heare nowthinge of Mr. Neydleton, but for that the cheastes are broken, wherein the said Sugars were, yt ys necessary the same to be put into caskes to preserve them from waste. Wch I will se donne wth all convenient speed, and then the quantities by waight as also the value thereof may be beste knowen, whereof I will advertise your honor, wth the whole accompts of all the charges. I have also sent your Lordshippes letter directed unto S John Norris into Ireland hopinge that he hath before	Letter from William Hopkins, Mayor of Bristol to the Privy Council.	BL, Landsdowne 115, no. 83, f. 239.

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index
8				

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Notes
8	See also no. 82, ff. 234-238, Nicholas Thorne Chamberlain of Bristol's bill of charges, including the cost of fitting out a ship to take them home, food for the journey including 'bullocks heades harttes and lyvers for the Negros' and 'for the victualling of 32 Portingales & Spaniards and for 135 Neagrees' during their week in Bristol and 'Item...paide to a man to keepe them in a Barne vii daies', amounting to £302, 13 s 3d.

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Number of Africans referred to	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Household
9	1596	July	11	England	10		blackamoore s	U	

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Full text	Brief source description	Archival Reference
9	An open letter to the Lord Maiour of London and the Aldermen his brethren and to all other Maiors, Sheryfes &c. Her Majestir understanding that there are of late divers blackmoores brought into this realm, of which kinde of people there are already here to manie, consideringe howe God hath blessed this land with great increase of people of our owne nation as anie countrie in the world, whereof manie for want of service and meanes to sett them on worck fall to idlenesse and to great extremytie. Her Majestyes pleasure therefore ys that those kinde of people should be sent forth of the lande, and for that purpose there ys direction given to this bearer Edwarde banes to take of those blackmoores that in this last voyage under Sir Thomas Baskerville were brought into this realme the nomber of tenne, to be transported by him out of the realme. Wherein wee require you to be ayding and assysting unto him as he shall have occacion, and thereof not to faile.	Privy Council letter	TNA, PC 2/21, f. 304.

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index
9	<i>APC</i> , 1596-1597, p. 16.			214

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Notes
9	Habib wrongfully entitles this as: 'Royal proclamation deporting blacks from kingdom'.

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Number of Africans referred to	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Household
10	1596	July	18	England	0		blackamoore s	U	

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Full text	Brief source description	Archival Reference
10	An open warrant to the Lord Maiour of London and to all Vyce-Admyralles, Maiours and other publicke officers whatsoever to whom yt may appertaine. Whereas Casper van Senden, a merchant of Lubeck, did by his labor and travell procure 89 of her Majesty's subjectes that were detayned prisoners in Spaine and Portugall to be released, and brought them hither into this realme at his owne cost and charges, for the which his expences and declaration of his honest minde towardses those prizoners he only desireth to have lycense to take up so much blackamoors here in this realme and to transport them into Spaine and Portugall. Her Majesty in regard of the charitable affection the suppliant hathe shewed, being a stranger, to worke the delivery of our contrymen that were there in great misery and thraldom and to bring them home to their native contry, and that the same could not be don without great expence, and also considering the reasonablenes of his requestes to transport so many blackamoors from hence, doth thincke yt a very good exchange and that those kinde of people may be well spared in this realme, being so populous and nombers of hable persons the subjectes of the land and Christian people that perishe for want of service, wherby through their labor they might be mayntained. They are therfore in their Lordships' name required to aide and assist him to take up suche blackamores as he shall finde within this realme with the consent of their masters, who we doubt not, considering her Majesty's good pleasure to have those kinde of people sent out of the lande and the good deserving of the stranger towardses her Majesty's subjectes, and that they shall doe charitably and like Christians rather to be served by their owne contrymen then with those kinde of people, will yelde those in their possession to him.	Privy Council letter	TNA, PC 2/21, f. 306.

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index
10	<i>APC</i> , 1596-1597, p. 20.			215

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Notes
10	Habib wrongfully entitles this as: 'Royal proclamation deporting blacks from kingdom'.

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Number of Africans referred to	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Household
11	1597	April	7	Stonehouse, Plymouth	2		Negars	U	Lady Raleigh
12	1599	May	28	Clerkenwell	1		negroe	F	Denis Edwards
13	1600	October	15	London	0		Barbarians	M	
14	1600	October	21	London	0		Barbarians	M	

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Full text	Brief source description	Archival Reference
11	Myself receaved lybertie upon the 26th of January laste condyconallie to come over into Engeland for the procuringe of two negroes taken by Capten Clemtes of Weymouthe the laste yere and to return ageyne with them unto the Groyne or true certificate why they coulede not be obteyned and thereuppon to receive lybertie for suche as be there deteyned...I goe moste humblie intreate your Honble favour for the procuringe of one of the negars remayninge with My Ladie Rawleighe that I may speedily return to the Groyne agayne...	Declaration of John Hill of Stonehouse.	TNA, SP 12/262/104
12	Good Mr Lankford I wrotte to you as conserninge my negroe wher or in what plase she was or whether you have taken any penes to socer her or noe. If you have not I praye make inquiries for her for she is sartenlye dwellinge in tornebole stryde att the sine of the Swan att one Danes house who selethe beare it is harde by Clarkenwell.	Letter from Denis Edwards to Thomas Lankford, Secretary to the Earl of Hertford	TNA, SP 12/270/119
13	The Barbarians [ambassador from Barbary] take theyre leave sometime this week, to goe homeward, for our merchants nor mariners will not carrie them into Turkie, because they thinck it is a matter odious and scandalous to the world to be friendlie or familiar with infidells but yet yt is no small honour to us that nations so far removed and every way different shold meet here to admire the glory and magnificence of our Queene of Saba.	State Papers, letter from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton.	TNA, SP 12/275, f. 152.
14	Your cousen [Lytton]... bringes his sonne William to see my L[ord] mayers pageant, and these uncouth ambassadors. The Barbarians were yesterday at Court to take theyre leave, and will goe shortly, but the eldest of them (which was a kind of priest or prophet) hath taken his leave of the world and is gone to prophecie apud infernos and to seeke out Mahound theyre mediator	State Papers, letter from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton.	TNA, SP 12/275, f. 160.

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index
11	<i>CSPD</i> , 1595-1597, p. 381.		Household Accounts, no. 107.	
12	<i>CSPD</i> , 1598-1601, p. 199.		Court Records, no. 11.	235
13	<i>CSPD</i> , 1598-1601, p. 478.			
14	<i>CSPD</i> , 1598-1601, p. 481.			

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Notes
11	
12	
13	
14	

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Number of Africans referred to	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Household
15	1600	November	29	England	0		the blackamoors	U	
16	1600?	November?		England	0		the Blacamoore s	U	
17	1600	December	29	England	0		the Moores	U	

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Full text	Brief source description	Archival Reference
15	Of the suit concerning the blackemoores, whereof he once moved Cecil for Jasper Van Zenden, whose petition he encloses. When he first moved Cecil therein, Cecil seemed not to like that a commission of that nature, to take what pleased him, should be committed to Van Zenden. Prays Cecil, for his (Sherley's) good, to assent to the matter, with such limitations to the commission as he best likes.	Letter from Sir Thomas Sherley to Robert Cecil.	Hatfield, Cecil Papers 250/71.
16	In reward for his procuring the release in 1596 of 89 of the Queen's subjects who were prisoners in Spain and Portugal, and transporting them to England, the Queen granted him licence to take up all such blackamoores as he could find in the realm and transport them into those countries. The masters of the blackamoores, however, seeing by his warrant that he could not take them without the master's good will, would not suffer him to have any one of them. Since that time he has procured the release of 200 prisoners in Lisbon and he has sent them home to England. In consideration of these services, and seeing that all blackamoores in England are regarded but only for the strangeness of their nation and not for service to the Queen and may very well be spared out of the country, prays again for licence to take up and carry away into Spain and Portugal all the blackamoores he shall find, without interruption of their masters or others.	Petition of Caspar Van Senden to the Queen, ? enclosed with Sherley's letter of November 1600.	Hatfield, Petitions 151.
17	I most humbly thank you for your willingness touching the suit of Van Zenden for the transport of the Moores, at my request. And because I did perceive by my son that you thought it not meet to have those kind taken from their masters compulsorily, I will forbear to urge you therein; but for expedition's sake, I beseech that the letter which Van Zenden formerly had may be renewed to some stronger purpose than before; for which purpose I am bold to send you enclosed how far it is desired to stretch. This matter being by your favour committed to Mr. Secretary Harbert 10 days past, lies yet as it did, in respect that Mr. Ceaser his servant has lost, as is said, the note of her Majesty's pleasure therein.	Letter from Sir Thomas Sherley to Robert Cecil.	Hatfield, Cecil Papers 82/85.

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index
15	<i>Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury, ed. Dyfnallt Owen, X, 399.</i>			
16	<i>Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury, ed. Dyfnallt Owen, XIV, 143.</i>			
17	<i>Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury, ed. Dyfnallt Owen, X, 431.</i>			

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Notes
15	
16	
17	

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Number of Africans referred to	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Household
18	1601			England	0		negars and blackamoors	U	

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Full text	Brief source description	Archival Reference
18	Whereas the Queen's Majesty is discontented at the great number of 'negars and blackamoors' which are crept into the realm since the troubles between her Highness and the King of Spain, and are fostered here to the annoyance of her own people, which want the relief consumed by these people, who are mostly infidels without understanding of Christ and his Gospel, in order to the discharge of them out of this country, her Majesty hath appointed Caspar Van Zeuden, merchant of Lubeck, for their transportation, a man who at his own charge has brought from Spain several Englishmen, who would otherwise have there perished: this is to require you to assist him to collect such negroes and blackamoors for this purpose; and if any refuse to deliver such blackamoors to him, you are to persuade them to comply, and if they will not, to certify their names to us.	Draft proclamation for the transportation of blackamoors, probably written by Thomas Sherley and Caspar Van Senden.	Hatfield, Cecil Papers 91/15.

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index
18	<i>Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury, ed. Dyfnallt Owen , XI, 569; Tudor Royal Proclamations , III, pp. 221-222; Jones, Othello's Countrymen , Plate 5.</i>			246

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Notes
18	Habib wrongfully entitles this as: 'Royal proclamation deporting blacks from kingdom'; Jones called it 'Queen Elizabeth's edict for the transportation of 'Negars and Blakamoores'.

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Number of Africans referred to	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Household
19	1620	March		Dover	1	John Anthony	Negar/ the blacke boy	M	Sir Henry Mainwairing

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Full text	Brief source description	Archival Reference
19	The humble petition of John Anthony Negar now of the Towne and port of dover Maryner whereof late served in the shipp...called the Silver ffaulcon under Captain John Fenner and Mr. Bacon Master thereof. Whom... being informed that the soume of twenty poundes due unto yr honours petitioner for his wages and service in the said shipp deposited in the hands of Mr. Maior of Dover whereof he your said poor petitioner hath received noo parte and havinge so long remayned in the said towne since his said service at sea is become indebted for his dyet, lodginge and washinge in the some of three poundes at the least for payments whereof his best apparell lies at gage and now faylinge of all further creditt and the winters season drawing on he feareth he shall endure great extremetie if he may not have his money...[in order to] satisfie his debts but also to provide him cloathes and other necessaryes fitt to be used at sea, where he intendeth speedily to imploye himselfe. 2nd petition: Who in all humble and dutiful manner beseacheth your honor to give order to Mr Maior of dover that he may pay unto him such moneys as remaynethe in his hands which he receaved for your said petitioner his service late done in the said ship the Silver ffaulcon, or at least so much thereof as may pay his debtes and defraye the charges of necessary apparell fitt and meet for sea, whereas he intendeth presently to apply himself ...or please that your honour would...cause the said... money to be delivered into the hands of Sir Henry Mainwaring knight, his...worshippful master, who will give securite for the releasing thereof...	Petition of John Anthony, mariner of Dover to Lord Zouche.	TNA SP 14/113

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index
19	<i>CSPD</i> , 1619-1623, p. 131.			310

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Notes
19	This petition, wrongly characterized by Habib as a legal suit (<i>Black Lives</i> , p. 221), has hitherto only been noted from the brief <i>CSPD</i> reference. See also the following letter in SP 14/113 from Mainwaring to Zouche, 20 March 1628, which confirms that Anthony has been paid, with 17s 6 d for half a year's interest.

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Number of Africans referred to	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Household
20	1623	July	12	London	1		blackamore	F	Countess of Arundel
21	1623	November	26	London	1	Helen Jeronimo	moore	F	
22	1624	August	18	London	1	Ellen Jeronimo		F	
23	1625	February	12		1	Masouta	negra	F	Thomas Button

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Full text	Brief source description	Archival Reference
20	The Countesse of Arundell is now upon her returne for she hath sent some forerunners before, three Italian massaras (whereof one is a blackamore) and a Gondola, which I doubt will not so well brooke our river, where there is commonly so much winde.	Letter from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton.	TNA SP 14/148/99
21	Hellen Jeronimo a moore petitioned the Court for their favour of abatement? Of the rate of three for one, which she said was stopps? Uppon her husbands wages for monneys received uppon accompt in thIndies the Court received certificate from Jeremy Sambrook that by contract of her said husband there had been paid 16 li 16 s 10 d which was his owne Act and nothing concerneth this Court but because she is a stranger... haveing few friends and her husband lost the Court was contented to relieve her with xx s out of the poores boxe which she thankfully accepted.	East India Company Petition.	BL, IOR/574, B8: Court Minute Book VI, f. 280.
22	Ellen Jeronimo the late wife of Thomas Jeronimo deceased in the Peppercorne petitioned the Courte for their charity towards her being very poore and her said husband one of those that went to the Manillas [Phillipines]. The Court gave her 10s out of the poores box.	East India Company Petition.	BL, IOR/575, B/9: Court Minute Book VII, f. 78.
23	List of names, including 'Masouta negra con Dom Thomas Boutton'. Also '9 Turkes & mores in Barnett Seames custody dwelling in Devonshire neare totnas'	Names of Turks and Moors taken by the English and demanded by the divan of Algiers.	TNA SP 71/1, ff. 46-53.

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index
20	<i>The Letters of John Chamberlain</i> , ed. McClure, II, 506-7; <i>CSPD</i> , 1623-1625, p. 13.			
21	<i>CSPC</i> , 1622-1624, p. 223.		Court Records, nos. 25, 26.	
22	<i>CSPC</i> , 1622-1624, p. 481.		Court Records, nos. 25, 26.	
23	Matar, <i>Britain and Barbary</i> , p. 119.			

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Notes
20	<i>CSPD</i> glosses over this detail, reporting only: The Countess of Arundel is about to return to England; she has sent before her three Italian servants and a gondola’.
21	
22	
23	Matar misleadingly describes Masouta as 'belonging to' Button.

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Number of Africans referred to	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Household
24	1627	June	21		18	names?	Moores	M	
25	1628	January	18	Plymouth	1		negrowe	M?	Sir James Bagg
26	1636	October	31	Winchester	2		Moors	M	
27	1636	November	1	Winchester	2		Moors	M	

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Full text	Brief source description	Archival Reference
24	1. Hamet Reys son of Yaah of Tutuan, seaman; 2. Mahamet sonne of Usin of Tutuan, sailor; 3. Mahamet sonne of Hussin of Tutuan, sailor; 4. Mahomet Hogy of Sally, scrivan; 5. Mahamet sonne of Achmet of Sally, tailor; 6. Mussud, sonne of Mahamet, saylor; 7. Abdaraman sonne of Ally Lasis, sailor; 8. Mahamet sonne of Mahmout: a boye; 9. Issa sonne of Ally cooke; 10. Abderahuman sonne of Syd, sailor; 11. Mahamet sonne of Hassan, sailor; 12. Abdalla, sonne of Hassan, shoemaker; 13. Ally sonne of mahamet, sailor; 14. Causin sonne of Hamet, buttin maker; 15. Umbarac sonne of Ally, shippboye; 16. Mahamet sonne of Achmet, shipboye; 17. Casamuch sonne of Useph, shipp boye; 18. Hamet sonne of Hussin, soldier.	Names of Turks and Moores belonging to Tutuan and Sally in Barbary, taken the 21 June 1627.	TNA SP 71/1, f. 124.
25	lett me heare from you... Of the arryvall of my Negrowe whome I ordered should be handsomely clade.	Letter from James Bagg to Edward Nicholas.	TNA SP 16/90
26	There are two young Moors there, not above 13 or 14 years of age who some think may be made good Christians, and in that regard he desires to understand the pleasure of the Lords of the Admiralty if they should be condemned..	Letter from Dr. Robert Mason to Edward Nicholas.	TNA SP 16/334/50,
27	They have tried the Sallee pirates. The four Dutch renegados and the English Christian are acquitted, the other eleven are condemned of murder and piracy, and have sentence of death....The prisoners had a very fair legal trial, a full bench of commissioners, and as good juries as have been seen there. The murder upon which they are convicted is, the loss of one of the fishermen, who was drowned in taking the other; the pleas they made were, some that the Lords had them at mercy and might do what they would, others that their intention was to take prisoners and sell them for slaves, not to put them to death, and one said, he asked no mercy, because he had done no hurt; two offered to be Christians.	Letter from Jerome, Earl of Portland to the Lords of the Admiralty.	TNA SP 16/335/1.

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index
24	Matar, <i>Britain and Barbary</i> , p. 121.			
25	<i>CSPD</i> , 1627-1628, p. 521.			334
26	<i>CSPD</i> , 1636-1637, pp. 177-179; Matar <i>Britain and Barbary</i> , p. 122.			
27	<i>CSPD</i> , 1636-1637, pp. 177-179; Matar <i>Britain and Barbary</i> , p. 122.			

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Notes
24	See also SP71/1, f. 74, which lists 'Turks and Moors belonging to Algier', taken 21 June 1627.
25	
26	
27	See also Thomas Wyan (Registrar of the Admiralty)'s letter to Edward Nicholas on the same day.

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Year	Month	Day	Place	Number of Africans referred to	Name	Ethnic Descriptor	Sex	Household
28	1640s			Bristol	1	Frances	an Ethiopian or black moor	F	a man who lived on the Back of Bristol'

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Full text	Brief source description	Archival Reference
28	And while they thus walked with Mr. Ingello their Teacher by ye goodness of God they had one Memorable member added unto them, namely a Blackymore maide, named Francis a servant to one that lived upon ye Back of Bristoll, which thing is somewhat rare in our dayes and Nation, to have an Ethyopian or Blackmore to be truly Convinced of Sin and of their lost state without yr Redeemer and to be truly converted to ye Lord Jesus Christ as she was; which by her profession or declaration at ye time of her reception together with her Sincere Conversation she gave great ground for charity to believe she was truly brought to Christ; for this poor Aethiopian's soule savoured much of God, and she walked very humble and blameless in her Conversation to her end And when she was upon her deathbed she sent a Remarkable exhortation unto ye whole church with whom she walked, as her last request unto them; which argued her holy, child-like fear of ye Lord and how precious ye Lord was to her soule, as was observed by ye manner of her Expressing it, which was this; - one of ye Sisters of ye Congregation, coming to visit her in her Sicknesse, she solemnly tooke her leave of her, as to this world, and prayed ye Sister to remember her to ye whole Congregation and tell them that she did begg every soule To take heed that they did lette ye glory of God to be dear unto them; -a word meet for ye Church ever to remember and for every particular member to observe, that they doe not lose the Glory of God in their families, neighbourhoods, or places where God casts them, it being the dyeing words of a Blackmoore, fit for a White heart to store. After which, this Æthiopian yielded up ye Spirit to Jesus that redeemed her and was Honourably interred, being carried by ye Elders, and ye chieftest of note of ye Brethren in ye congregation (Devout men bearing her) to ye grave, where she must rest until our Lord doth come, who will bring his Saints with him. By this, in our days, we may see, Experimentally, that scripture made good- that is God is no respecter of faces; but among all nations, &c. Acts X 34, 35.	Records of the Baptist congregation of Bristol, written by Edward Terrill (1634-1685).	

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Printed reference	Online reference	Record table cross reference	Habib Index
28	‘The Records of a Church of Christ 1640-1687’, ed. Hayden, pp. 101-2.			361

9. Diaries and Letters

Record number	Notes
28	It has been erroneously repeated that Frances died in 1640: Habib Index no. 361; Dresser, <i>Slavery Obscured</i>, p. 11. Fryer says 1645: <i>Staying Power</i>, p. 32. Terrill reported that Frances joined the Baptist congregation ‘while they walked with Mr. Ingello their teacher’. This was Nathaniel Ingello (1621-1683), who was in Bristol from 1646-c.1655. McLellan, ‘Ingelo, Nathaniel (1620/21–1683)’, <i>ODNB</i>. Therefore, Frances most likely died a decade later than usually asserted. Her story has been treated at length by Peter Linebaugh, who places her ‘in the 1640s’: Linebaugh, <i>The Many-Headed Hydra</i>, pp. 71-104.